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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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CONTENTS

PAGE

THE BACKGROUND AND THE OBJECTIVES OF FOREIGN MISSIONS. Rufus M. Jones 129

CHRISTIANITY AND THE HUMANISTIC MOOD. Henry B. Robins 145

THE GROUND OF RELIGIOUS CERTAINTY. J. M. Shaw 160

AS WE TOGETHER WALKED. Spenser B. Meeser 167

CHASTISEMENTS OF THE DIVINE LOVE. Selby Vernon McCasland 168

THE CHURCH AND PUBLIC WORSHIP. William R. McNutt 188

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Earl E. Speicher 200

"IF THOU ART THE SON OF GOD." Melvin B. Wright 216

BOOK REVIEWS 235

BOOK NOTICES 254

BOOKS RECEIVED 256

THE CROZER QUARTERLY

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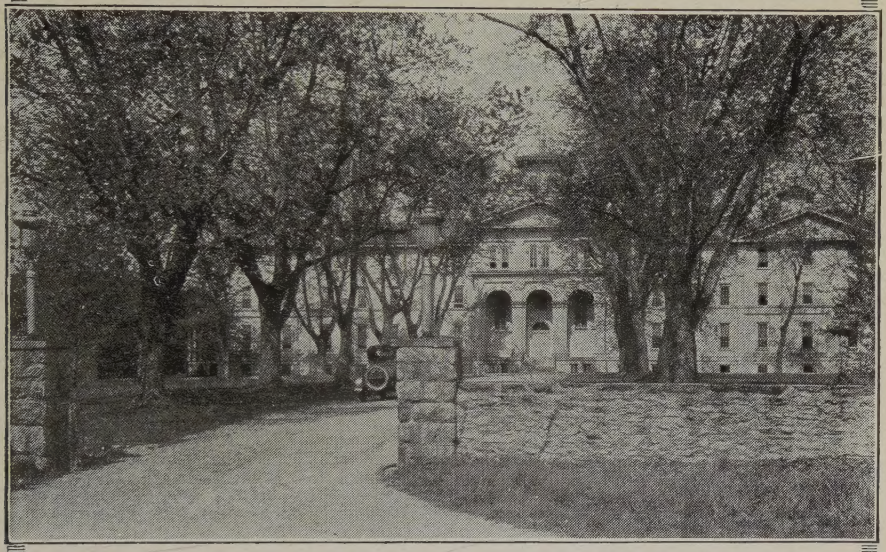

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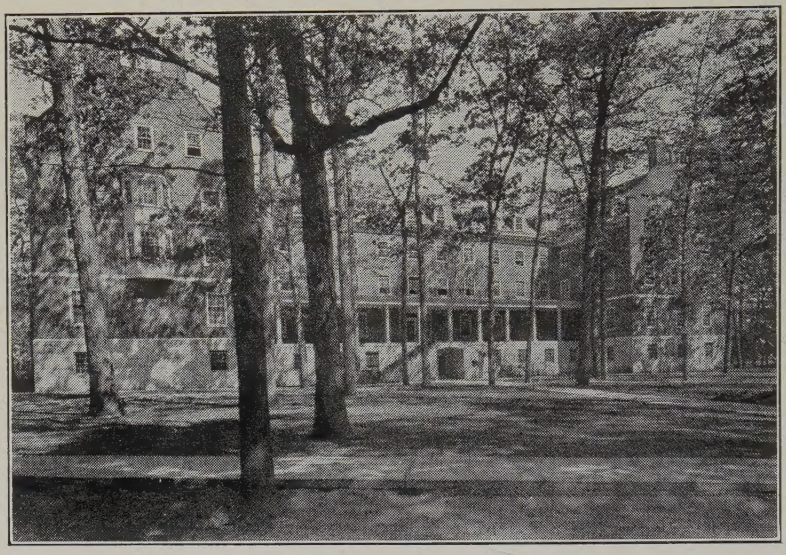

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THE CROZER QUARTERLY

Vol. X APRIL, 1933 No. 2

THE BACKGROUND AND THE OBJECTIVES OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

RUFUS M. JONES

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THE Book of Acts opens with the statement that the author's former treatise—the Gospel according to St. Luke—had dealt with "all that Jesus *began* to do and teach." That short period of doing and teaching was an extraordinary birth-epoch in the life of mankind, but with all its transformations and changes of level it was only a "beginning" of all that Christ has wrought and has taught. We do not know Him fully until we know what He has done through the unfolding course of history. He was in a very real sense the kind of person who could do what He has done.

The spiritual conquests and the moral transformations which have been wrought through the ages seem as miraculous as any story in the gospel narratives. Christianity has always had a way of turning water to wine, of bringing prodigals home, of repeating the acts of the Good Samaritan, of bringing life out of death, of turning sunsets to sunrises. It is always, whenever it comes into vital contact with its Founder, a religion of surprise and wonder. It does the unexpected. It makes the lame man walk and the blind man see. It reveals a resurrection life and a pentecostal power in its march through the centuries as well as in the period of its birth. But it always goes dead and static as soon as it becomes absorbed in its own self-preservation. As soon as it lives unto itself and is concerned only with problems of organization

and self-promotion its pulse slows down and its miracles of life cease. Christianity is essentially *apostolic,* that is, missionary. It is a religion "sent out" to bless and heal and save. It cannot "find itself" any other way. All its great centuries have been missionary centuries, periods of spiritual conquest for the pure love of Christ and human kind. The same water makes the Lake of Gennesaret and the Dead Sea. The Jordan pours its fresh floods into both of them. One is sweet, pure, transparent and life-giving. The other is dead, dark, bitter and incapable of supporting any forms of life. The difference is not in the source. The difference is in outlet. Gennesaret pours its floods through and sends them on while the Dead Sea is in-bound and stagnant. Somewhat as is the case with Gennesaret, it belongs to the very essence of Christianity to pour itself out, to give itself away. The Cross is the true symbol of the Christian faith. Whenever the spirit of the Cross has been reproduced in the life of the Church its apostolic power has always been freshly revealed.

The full missionary story has never been told in any one Book of Acts. It could not be told in a book, or a library of books. St. John was quite right when he wrote the words: "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." The full story is an inherent part of the spiritual evolution and life-history of the western world. We are here concerned with only a small part of the story, with the missionary reawakening which was a striking feature of the nineteenth century. Its flowering period has covered now about four generations, as we count generations, which would be roughly speaking a little more than a century and a quarter, though it was preceded by a longer period of preparation.

The Reformation, from its very beginning, had an awakening and quickening missionary effect both on the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches. The Counter-Reformation in

the Roman Catholic Church was marked by a new passion for world expansion. The Jesuit Society from its birth was intensely missionary. St. Ignatius Loyola, its founder, and St. Francis Xavier were two of the most impassioned missionaries that ever went forth to win the world. Their followers went to all parts of the earth on their eager quests and the story of their sacrificial work among the Indians of Canada, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley is a unique story in the world's missionary annals.

There was no correspondingly great missionary passion revealed in the early Protestant churches. Their primary task was felt to be the conversion of Europe to the reformed faith. There were, however, sporadic attempts by the Lutherans of Germany, Holland, and Denmark in the seventeenth century to evangelize both the East and West Indies and parts of Africa. The rise of the Pietist movement in Germany with its evangelical fervor tended to promote a deep concern to carry the gospel to the whole world. It was the small branch of Moravian Christians who first in modern times showed what could be accomplished by a tiny group of absolutely dedicated souls. The Moravian brotherhood sprang out of the reforming work of John Huss, though their missionary zeal did not burst forth until more than two centuries later under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf of Herrnhut (1700-1760). Moravian foreign missionary work began in the West Indies in 1732. It began in Greenland the year following in 1733. More than three thousand missionaries from that small Christian body have gone out to work for the Esquimos in northern latitudes and for the blacks in southern lands. The story is one of the most thrilling narratives in the entire missionary Book of Acts.

The Society of Friends, which came into being through the labors of George Fox, who began preaching in 1647, was intensely missionary in its early period. An Epistle which was issued by English Quakers in 1660 reads like another

chapter in the Book of Acts. It says: "We have certain information from some Friends of London of the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palestine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland . . . and divers other countries, places, islands and nations; and among many nations of the Indians." Besides the labors in these somewhat vague geographical areas of the world, three Quakers set out in 1661 for the spiritual conquest of China, though they never actually succeeded in reaching their destination.

The Anglican Church formed its first Missionary Society in 1649 for the propagation of the gospel in New England among the Indians. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S. P. C. K.) was formed in 1698 and soon became a powerful missionary agency. The Presbyterian S. P. C. K. was founded in Scotland in 1709. The Christian Faith Society of the Anglican Church originally created for the conversion and education of Negro slaves, dates from 1691. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S. P. G.) began in 1700. This Society had a new awakening at the end of that century. None of these movements, except, perhaps, the Moravian, had a well-defined missionary program and a constructive method in the modern sense of the term. These came to birth toward the close of the eighteenth century with the rise of the evangelical movement that followed the Wesleyan Revival. The theological phrases of that great movement are not the kindling words of this era, but there was in it a spirit, an awakening power, a glowing passion for human betterment that have not often been surpassed. William Wilberforce was one of the most striking incarnations of this evangelical spirit in its concern for the liberation of human life. But the movement touched every aspect of

human life. The fresh wave of foreign missionary effort which rose at this time had the drive and power of that same evangelical awakening behind it. It profoundly affected every branch of the Christian Church with its creative inspiration and it sent out the pioneers and founders of modern missions across the globe.

The Church Missionary Society (C. M. S.) was founded by evangelical members of the English Church in 1799. The London Missionary Society (L. M. S.) of the Congregational Church dates under that name from the same year, though it began in a less definite form in 1795. The English Baptist Missionary Society owed its origin in 1792 to the leadership of William Carey, one of the noblest names in missionary annals. Out of the same evangelical fervor the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804 by a joint group of Church men and dissenters. The English Wesleyan Missionary Society took its organized form in 1814, though the English Wesleyans had been carrying on extensive foreign work in a less organized way since 1786. The China Inland Mission which came out of a later evangelical revival was founded in 1865 under the leadership of J. Hudson Taylor.

The great American denominational Missionary Boards were formed under a similar evangelical awakening in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. In every instance, whether in the earlier or the later periods, the evangelical awakening gave the driving power for spiritual world conquest. The great "event" from which missionary zeal in America can be dated was the Haystack prayer-meeting in 1806, when three students at Williams College—Mills, Hall, and Richards—dedicated themselves to foreign service and resolved to form a Society to "effect a mission to the heathen in the person of its members." It was a notable fulfilment of the promise, "where two or three are met together in my name, I will be in their midst." The direct outcome was the creation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mis-

sions (Congregational) in 1810 and the American Baptist Union in 1814. The Presbyterian Church worked with the American Board until 1837, when it formed a separate organization of its own. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States began its foreign missionary work in 1819. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States in 1817 arranged a cooperative work with the C. M. S. of London, but formed its own Missionary Society in 1820, while in 1835 the Church itself became its own missionary society. Slowly all the branches of the Christian Church in America took up an active propagation of its message to various parts of the world.

The full list of the pioneers and creators of the modern missionary movement is too long for inclusion here, but there are a few shining names which must be given. William Carey, who landed in Bengal in 1792, is one of the earliest and one of the greatest in the list of pioneers. He translated the whole of the New Testament into Bengali by the year 1800 and before his death in 1834 he had translated the entire Bible into Bengali, Hindi, Mahrathi and Sanskrit. He established a training college for training Indian evangelists and by this step he inaugurated a new missionary method of immense importance. Henry Martyn (1781-1812) only lived thirty-one years, but his work of scholarship, inspiration and leadership in India and Persia reads like a romance.

Robert Morrison, who was born in Northumberland in 1782 and landed at Macao, China, in 1807, is another one of the great creative spirits. He faced almost every conceivable difficulty. He mastered Chinese dialects. He made a Chinese dictionary. He translated nearly the whole Bible. He introduced medical missionary work and he fostered education. He belongs among the heroes of the modern world.

Samuel J. Mills more truly than any other person may be called the "father" of the American missionary movement. He was born in Torringford, Connecticut, in 1783, was

brought up in the home of a powerful evangelical preacher. While a student in Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, he led the "Haystack group" of college students in 1806 and organized in 1808 the little association of college men known as the "Brethren." While he was a student in Andover Theological Seminary he kindled or confirmed the missionary zeal of six of his student associates, one of whom was Adoniram Judson. Out of the spring of this extraordinary student consecration a great river flowed forth into many lands. The American Board of the Congregational Church, founded in 1810, was a direct outcome of this awakening of the students, and the organization of the American Baptist Board, which followed in 1814 was in like manner a result of the youth movement, which in turn stimulated other religious bodies to form missionary boards or committees. On the hundredth anniversary of the haystack prayer-meeting (1906) the very significant Laymen's foreign missionary movement was inaugurated.

The story of David Livingstone's life (1813-1873), his travels and explorations in Africa, his fight against the slave trade, his labors and sufferings for Christ, his love for men and their love for him constitutes one of the most thrilling biographies in the entire history of missionary endeavor.

John G. Paton belongs in the later era of the missionary movement, but his name should stand in any list of the creative pioneers. In 1839 John Williams and his companion were murdered as soon as they landed in the New Hebrides, and by the year 1856 fully fifty missionaries had died or had been murdered in these islands. Paton began his remarkable transforming work there in 1858 and in the half century of his labors a new social and spiritual world emerged out of what had been a state of savagery and cannibalism.

These are only a few of the stars of the first magnitude out of the long list of men and women who have given their lives to widen the area of light in the world.

The modern missionary movement which thus came to birth in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth was demonstrably due to the great evangelical awakening of those decades. It was a living feature of the new humanitarian spirit of love and brotherhood that attacked first the slave trade and then the very existence of slavery as a system of ownership and labor. Its leaders set to work to transform the world's jails and prisons, and out of this warm current of religious faith and fervid interest in human life the missionary stream flowed forth to all habitable lands on the globe.

There can be no question in the mind of any one who seriously studies the total effect of this century and a quarter of missionary activity that the social, moral and spiritual level of life has been raised in almost every country to which missionary laborers have gone. There could hardly be a more impressive testimony to the uplifting and constructive effect of missionary work than that given by Charles Darwin of the transforming work of the South American Missionary Society in Tierra del Fuego. Darwin visited Tierra del Fuego in 1832 during his " Voyage of the Beagle." At a later time the great scientist heard that missionaries were going to work among the Fuegians. He predicted that the effort to change " such a set of savages " would be utterly useless and futile, for he declared them to be " probably the lowest of the human race." Admiral Sir James Sulivan, who discussed the question with him, disagreed with Darwin and contended that there were no human beings too low to comprehend the simple message of the Gospel of Christ. Years went by, the missionary work among the Fuegians prospered and brought a marvelous change in their habits and characters. In 1867 Admiral Sulivan wrote to Darwin an account of the transformation in Tierra del Fuego. Whereupon Darwin sent a check for five pounds to the missionary society as a testimony of his interest, and in 1870 he allowed himself to be made an honor-

ary member of the Society. In many letters to Admiral Sulivan he referred with enthusiasm to the work of the missionaries, with phrases such as the following: "I am glad to hear so good an account of the Fuegians; it is wonderful." Again in 1879, "The progress of the Fuegians is wonderful, and had it not occurred would have been to me quite incredible." In 1881 he said: "I certainly should have predicted that not all the missionaries in the world could have done what has been done." And with his annual subscription to the Society for that same year he sent another enthusiastic comment. Darwin has been quoted at some length here because he was a man not easily moved by events in the field of religion and only an indubitable demonstration of results would have called from him this unqualified testimony. This was only one specimen of what was happening sixty years ago in most lands to which missionaries had gone. If Darwin had had similar contacts with other people who had at first seemed unpromising and who afterward became remade he would have had more checks to send.

The aims and objectives which dominated the minds both of the senders and the goers in those early years of intense missionary enthusiasm were perfectly definite and clear as a bell. Their vivid sense of a divine call and a specific task to perform gave them a unique dynamic and an almost irresistible conquering power. They had no doubt whatever in that period before higher criticism was born that there was a positive command of the risen Christ that His followers should go out into all the world and make disciples of all nations. That command held a very great place in the minds of all these creative leaders of the early missionary movement, and it acted like an invisible hand pushing them forth. It was, too, a period in which everybody who had come under the influence of the evangelical movement held intense views about the importance of conscious personal salvation and its eternal significance. The peculiar emphasis on individual *sal-*

vation was a central feature of the whole movement. That emphasis as a primary concern took the first place, and the passion for the liberation of life and for human betterment came close after it. Not to be "saved" was to be "lost." There was no third intermediate condition admitted for a moment. And to be "lost" was to be eternally "lost." This was before the days of "relativity" and when the word "eternity" was heavily charged with emotional content. The urgency of saving souls from hell was as strong in the minds of the early Protestant missionaries as it was in the fervid mind of Saint Francis Xavier and his Jesuit disciples in the sixteenth century.

These men and women, who had been powerfully shaken awake with a concern for their own eternal destiny and who were sensitive to human sufferings were bound to think soberly of the consequences that awaited the multitudes of unreached and unsaved souls in the regions of what they then called "heathen darkness." Bishop Heber vigorously expressed what was in the minds of most missionaries and members of mission committees at the date when he wrote his famous hymn:

From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their lands from error's chain.
In vain with lavish kindness
The gifts of God are strown;
The heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone.

Can we whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high;
Can we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation, O salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till earth's remotest nation
Has learnt Messiah's name.

This hymn reveals with a touch of genius what was in the minds of those who in this period of awakening had the missionary passion. "Error's chain," "heathen blindness," "bowing down to wood and stone," "benighted men" who were to be rescued by persons "whose souls were lighted," and the proclamation of "the joyful sound of salvation"—these were the magic phrases which produced an immense emotional response. There was a very high explosive quality to the Christianity which these early missionaries incarnated in their own lives and took to the various lands to which their calls carried them. The intensity of their faith, the absolute positiveness of their message and the urgency of their appeal gave them an unusual and effective moving power. Not to know Christ as a personal Saviour was in their minds to be "lost" and that "call" admitted of no delay.

The appeal everywhere stirred adventurous spirits. The very risks and dangers, the hardships and sufferings called out those heroic traits which are potentially present in all good persons. As usually happens, the vision of a task and a goal adequate for the life of a man produced a spirit of self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice which greatly raised the spiritual level both of those who went and of the Churches that sent them and backed them. The whole tone and quality of American Christianity were elevated and purified by this wave of missionary life and power. And something very much like a miracle was wrought in the various fields to which these bands of heroic adventurers went out. As was bound to happen, the scope and aims of the work broadened out as experience in the various fields brought wisdom and clarification of judgment. There could be, it was seen, no adequate method of proclamation without the mastery of languages, without translations, without the production of literature, without studying the needs and aptitudes of the recipients, or without taking more careful note of the culture, the civilization and the native religions of the people visited. Gradually

the importance of education as a way to enlargement of life, of hospitals and medical training for the alleviation of suffering, of improved methods of agriculture for the primary needs of life, came to take shape in the minds of the men and women whose first concern had been the proclamation of the gospel of salvation. The task was a cumulative one and kept growing ever and ever bigger. It slowly dawned upon those who worked in these fields that the individual man or woman or child who was to be helped was " tied into " social systems and conditions of life, and that any effective and permanent contribution to the individual life involved also the transformation and elevation of the entire social structure. It was like what happened in the old Norse myth when Thor tried to perform the task of lifting a small animal and found that he could not do it without doing a good deal more because the tiny beast had grown into the organic structure of the entire world and all *that* had to be raised before the little animal could be lifted.

These hundred and twenty-five years of labor in foreign fields since the American missionary awakening have brought many sobering lessons to all who are concerned in the great adventure. The consciousness of the *preciousness of the human soul* has not lessened, but the meaning of what is involved in the work of salvation has expanded, as all growing things do expand, and the enlargement of the task has carried, as it was bound to carry, a change of focus, of aim and of objective, as well as an alteration of means and methods.

In the first place the missionary impact, with its illuminating educational effects, has altered to the point of transformation the mental outlook and expectations of the native leaders in the several countries where missionary labors are under way. Not only have the mission schools, colleges and universities throughout the Orient imparted Western science and Western philosophy to their pupils and students, but they have stimulated hosts of brilliant youth to seek advanced edu-

cation in America and in Europe. Through these educational contacts the ideas and practices of Western civilization have come in full flood into the minds of the leaders of thought in Oriental lands. If the West is secular-minded it will not be strange that those who imbibe its education catch the habit of secular-mindedness. If Western science is materialistic in its effects on student's lives it need not seem strange if it leaves that stamp on the Oriental minds who come under its influences. If we are pragmatic and practical in our American philosophy and economics we should not be surprised if those who live among us catch the traits that are most dominant in our thoughts. It would be a miracle if only the spiritual ideals and the noblest religious aspirations of our best specimens of life got implanted in the hearts of those who absorb our culture, and none of the hard realism of practicality got transmitted.

The most powerful new current which is sweeping over the lives of almost every person in Oriental countries is the high tide of nationalism. When missionaries first visited these lands none of the every-day people they worked among asked them what their attitude was toward the prevailing government of the country. They did not need to stand and deliver their position on national allegiance before they could present their gospel. The government of the country then was to the people a distant abstraction which hardly mattered except in terms of taxes. Now the situation is wholly different. The dream of self-determination has become a wide-awake faith and hope. Foreign control, external domination, attitudes of superiority on the part of outsiders are oppressive weights not to be borne. Each country proposes to be master of its own fate. The missionaries of a hundred years ago would find themselves in another world if they could come back, and they would find themselves compelled to learn a new approach if they expected to have a creative influence upon anybody in the world today.

The new missionary, in the new age in which our tasks lie, goes out, or at least should go out to other lands, to share with other peoples all that Christ has come to mean to him. He sees, or at least he should see, aspects of truth and reality in all religions that have come down out of the past have held an important place in the lives of men and women and in the cultures of races of people through centuries of generations. It is one of the first duties of a "Christian quest" in a foreign field to enter into sympathetic *rapport* with those whom he is visiting and that means that he must understand with genuine insight the ideal aspects and the lifting power of their native religions. If God is truly *Father* we can well believe, with St. Paul at Lystra, that He has not left any of His people without some witness of Himself. The highest point therefore to which the religion of any people has trained their vision of God and of the possibilities of life is the point at which to start in the process of helping them forward. In every case the missionary as a guest among another race of people must be respectful of their type of culture and of their faith and aspiration, and he must be extremely sensitive not to wound their natural feelings of pride in their own race and their age-old habits and their achievements.

If he is to "share" he must first of all understand and appreciate and be ready to learn on his part. If he is truly "sensitive" in spirit he will realize that the civilization from which he has come and which he represents has its own shortcomings and defects, and this consciousness will keep him humble and modest in attitude of mind rather than dominant and superior. One cannot be a genuine friend and sharer of life without both giving and taking. It cannot be a "one-way" process. There must be mutual and reciprocal correspondence. If the word "missionary" is to be used as the name of the visiting guest the word must be purged of all connotation of a "higher" being condescending to come to the help and guidance of a "lower" order of humanity. The

basis of relationship must be that of mutual friendship and of understanding cooperation of man with man.

But in every respect the missionary task remains after the flow of years as urgent, if not as appealing, as it ever was. It offers the same adventurous way of life and the same test of loyalty to Christ as it ever did, and those who live in the lands that have been fields of missionary labor, still greatly need our friendly help and our brotherly cooperation. There cannot be a true world-unity without the spread at home and abroad of a deeper philosophy of life and a wider spirit of brotherhood. The spirit of Christ, His way of life, the love of man rooted in the love of God, is still the key to the solution of the world problem. There cannot be a " Christendom " that is truly Christ-like until Christ is reinterpreted by the East and all races together accept His way of life and undertake to follow Him.

Above everything, the new emphasis will be on *life, a way of life and complete moral and spiritual health.* The salvation which most concerns men and women today in all parts of the world is a salvation that brings to a person a liberated, enlarged and transformed life. He must find himself at greater depth. He must discover a greater dynamic to live by. He must learn how to love with increased richness and purity. He must gain control over his lower nature. He must acquire steadiness and patience in the midst of adversity and frustration. He must enter into a spirit of consecration and loyalty, which delights to struggle for the lives of others. That kind of life will be equally suited to an earthly or a heavenly sphere. It will be prepared for whatever comes in the unfolding wisdom and purpose of God.

St. Paul went out to the cities of the Ægean with an awe-inspiring vision of the possibilities of life for the Græco-Roman world through the leadership of Christ. He was expressing the goal of life for that world when he wrote: " Till we all attain the unity of the faith and knowledge of

God's Son, reaching maturity, the full measure of development, which belongs to the fulness of Christ" (Eph. 4: 13). Whatever the Kingdom of God may mean in the complete significance of the great phrase it at least means the spiritual unity of all men and races, the coming of the life of God into the lives of men, and the maturity and full measure of development of individuals and social groups. That faith and that hope are inspiration enough and challenge enough to call us from secular pursuits and our comforts of life to the adventurous world-wide task. There is more in common between the home and the abroad section than there used to be, and each individual laborer will have to decide by his gifts and aptitudes and sense of call where his peculiar field lies, whether at home or abroad. In any case, if the new objective, as aim and goal, is to dominate the mind of the spiritual worker, divisive emphasis on peculiar dogma and ecclesiastical formulations must fall away and the focus of thought and purpose must be the enlargement and fulfilment of life, the increasing unity of the world, the penetration of all civilizations and all cultures with the spirit of Christ and with His way of life. This would bring into parallelism the purpose of God and the deep-lying hope of humanity.

This objective would give the largest scope for the full application of scientific knowledge to the problems of life, for the expansion of medical and surgical skill and for the increase of hospitals, for the improvement of agricultural methods and for the transportation of food supplies and for all legitimate devices for making life sanitary and healthy. The apostles of the World-wide Christian Movement will bring in every possible touch of beauty, of art and literature, of music and drama to quicken imagination and to enlarge the significance of life. But always going on in front of them as leader, guide and inspiration will be the Christ of all the roads on which men walk toward the Kingdom of God.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE HUMANISTIC MOOD

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THE word humanism is very much in use these days. It is, however, subject to a variety of intepretations and almost always tinged with vagueness. Effort is made to sharpen its connotation by annexing some qualifying adjective or other—literary, scientific, philosophical, or religious. It is, none the less, a question whether such terms do not add to the confusion, even although one need not doubt that humanism is a term which stands for something distinctive of the modern outlook on life.

I

What, then, is the emphasis, or the view of life, for which the term stands? It should help to go back a bit into history. A recent French writer, himself a Christian, insists that we shall remember that our western culture goes back quite as much to Jerusalem as to Athens and Rome. Perhaps that is the fact which modern humanisms tend to overlook. In any case, we go back as well to Athens and to Rome—to Athens far more than to Rome. Two words in common use among us today point to the Athens of the time I have in mind—the words "sophistry" and "sophistication." There would surely be no such words had not the Sophists appeared on the Greek scene, though the words themselves do not fairly represent their spirit. The early Sophists at any rate were serious seekers who were persuaded that the traditional explanations were at best inadequate. This belief in the inadequacy of the old answers came in time to be coupled with a general distrust of the powers of the human mind to find answers for questions which are perpetually asked—humanity's ultimate questions. The chief virtue of the early

Sophists lay in the fact that they challenged conventional institutions and ideas to justify themselves at the bar of reason. That was exactly what Greek thought was engaged in doing, from Socrates on. The matured conclusions are to be found not alone in the writings of the classic philosophers, but in the great masters of literature, the tragic poets more particularly. While no one would be so bold as to suggest that this literary deposit embodies a single point of view, none the less the saying of the great Sophist Protagoras, that " Man is the measure of all things," finds frequent iteration there. Man, rather than nature; man, rather than the gods. Socrates, following this clue, substitutes a genuine humanism for the earlier naturalism of the Greek thinkers; and, in Greek letters, in Greek thought, man, his abilities and capacities, his arts and ideals, his friendships and the societies which he forms, the purposes which he cherishes, the morality which he cultivates, the state which he helps to constitute, are to the fore.

The Dark Ages, in which the barbarians from the north overran all southern Europe, winning from Rome at length the last of her imperial holdings, saw classic culture, the learning, literatures and languages of Greece and Rome, all but obliterated from the memory of western Europe. Though mere fragments of that learning lingered in the monasteries, the great mass of the barbarians knew of it nothing at all. The Latin tongue lingered in the crude and corrupted forms in use in the church, but even in the monastery schools only Virgil and one or two other Latin poets were known. The last shred of Greek learning disappeared from the West. It was the humanistic ardor of a Petrarch which in the fourteenth century recovered the manuscripts of Virgil, and the far more precious manuscripts of fourteen of Plato's dialogues sent him from Constantinople, though he knew no Greek, which set on foot the humanistic movement of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But to think of the humanism

pioneered by Petrarch as mainly a recovery of the Greek and Roman classics is quite to misunderstand the significance of the movement. It was rather, as J. A. Symonds indicates, primarily a recovery of the spirit of the classic age, the humanistic spirit. A new authority was substituted for churchly tradition. The Greek spirit was found not less vitalizing than Christianity, and far more free and creative than the ecclesiasticized version of its faith of which Europe now found itself in possession. To be sure, the humanists, from Petrarch to Erasmus, did not throw religion bodily overboard. It was for them no mere lapse into classic paganism, but it was the recovery of the ancient attitude toward life best expressed in Greek institutions, literature and art. To this new attitude, the *litteræ humaniores* were but accessory and instrumental.

The particular point of the last two paragraphs is that modern humanism is not, in spirit and essence, something new, a wholly fresh and original outlook on life. This is not, of course, to suggest that there is nothing new in contemporary humanism. It is rather to suggest that the roots of the new movement lie far down in the soil of antiquity, and that the growth of the tree to its present proportions, with periods of acceleration and retardation, has been more or less continuous across the centuries. The period of the rise of modern philosophy, the age of Giordano Bruno and of René Descartes, shows us certain thinkers rejecting the authority of tradition and working outside the rule of ecclesiastical dogmas and beliefs. The rise of modern science a bit later shook the Catholic universe to its foundations, its Copernican revolution marking a new epoch in the rise of the autonomous human spirit. The new age, in its crassly empiricist moods, was inclined to insist that all our knowledge is derived from sensation, to turn from the bewildering pursuit of ideas back to things themselves. Carried over into the religious thought of the seventeenth century, an empirically and rationally based

religion was set over against revealed religion. Deism stressed the natural ability of man to know, apart from revelation or grace, all that it was necessary for him to know. Political theory stressed natural rights over against divine rights and at the end of the eighteenth century culminated in its Declaration of the Rights of Man, emphasizing "the sovereignty of the people," "the impartial nature of law," and "the inviolability of personal liberty." The end of the eighteenth century also brought to culmination the Aufklärung and the Illumination, the former accompanied by the "æsthetic humanism" of Schiller and Goethe. This æsthetic humanism championed the ideal of a harmonious life, a life developed from within, through the instrumentality of art, a movement elevating human life above the life of the brutes, and culminating in the beautiful soul. Here was the dream of human perfection to be made a reality through the symmetrical culture of all the higher human aptitudes, the ideal of an ultimate balance between the selfish and the altruistic elements in human nature.

One despairs of putting the nineteenth century into a paragraph, but it may be possible to indicate some of the humanistic currents which swept through it. The positivism of Comte, who undertook to bring Saint-Simon's vision of social insight down to earth, bore, on one of its many faces, the aspect of sociology. In quest of that consummating science, Comte was led to a typically humanistic position, to put man over against nature and place him exclusively upon a human footing. Even the religious values could be humanistically interpreted: "Humanity," said he, "is the God men seek." Frederick Harrison echoed that notion: "The idea of an omnipotent and superhuman deity cannot be compared with the idea of a collective civilization." Matthew Arnold was in line with this emphasis when he stressed the notion that "To put ourselves in line with the law of the universe, to attain the sense of harmony with the universal order, is what

religion calls finding God." Confidence in progress, so characteristic of nineteenth-century evolutionary thought, found expression in Thomas Huxley's notion of " harmonious order governing eternally continuous progress "—and that even although he acknowledged that the evolutionary order produced evil as well as good! In this same epoch, too, Karl Marx, with his younger coadjutor Engels, brought socialism down out of the utopian cloudland and made it a force in history. Though not with complete accuracy described as a philosophy of economic determinism, the theory locates the cause of social and political revolutions not in men's better insights or their deeper sense of justice, but rather in the modes of production and exchange. Marx was hailed as " the Darwin of sociology." This Marxian sociology a recent writer who styles himself a humanist makes " the only human approach " to economic theory; in the science of human relations, he argues, it finds a point of departure for rearranging those relations on a continuously higher level. Another nineteenth century attitude, the very antithesis of economic determinism, finds the highest summation of life in æsthetic appreciation—I have in mind the romanticist attitude, which Walter Pater has perhaps typically expressed. We are so to trim our emotional nature that, " like a well-trimmed lamp, it shall burn always with a hard gem-like flame." The habit of moderation will turn out to be possibly the virtue of virtues.

II

I would not be too insistent, but to my way of thinking, all these movements, in varying measure, have played their part in creating the atmosphere in which contemporary humanism flourishes. These factors are woven, in varying proportions, into the web of modernity. The warp of modernity is a scientific naturalism, and the particolored woof of it is dominated by an all-inclusive evolutionary strand. The alleged mythologies of traditional systems of thought and of historic

religious belief are swept overboard. There remains but the natural, or, as a certain type of humanist would insist, the natural *and* the human. But God, faith in the transcendental world of value, immortality—these have gone by the board, for they are parts of a cosmic picture which modernity finds it impossible longer to cherish. How one shall behave in such a world will depend very much upon his temperament. Some will fly to the pessimistic extreme reflected by Joseph Wood Krutch in his *The Modern Temper.* It is a *blasé* temper. Twentieth century sophistication leaves one in the interminable wilderness of disillusionment. Even although we know more about the universe than any generation past, our knowledge does not make us happy. Science is a false messiah; she can lead us to no joyous acceptance of the reality which she discloses. Love itself is a phantasy of the human imagination, the most elaborate and glorious of its creations no doubt, but the plain unvarnished truth about it is a matter of mere biology. Our universe may be farcical or pathetic, but it no longer possesses the dignity of great tragedy. We moderns cannot find again the mood that made martyrs and great tragedy possible, the heroic mood. The death of love, the death of the tragic sense, are major fatalities incident to the movement of the cosmic order. Science there may be, but no true science of life. What modernity breeds, in the mind of Mr. Krutch and his like, is not humanism but despair grounded in blackest pessimism. But modernity does not make pessimists of all its devotees. There are what William James delighted to call the "tough-minded," who find in finitude and flux only a challenge to courage and creativity. The possibilities of human creativity, Mr. Krutch to the contrary notwithstanding, have not been adequately explored or exploited. Professor Dewey tells us that "for the futile effort to achieve security and anchorage in something fixed," modernity "will substitute the effort to determine the character of the changes . . . and to give them some

measure of intelligent direction." He admits that " the chief intellectual characteristic of the present is despair of any constructive philosophy;" and to such an age he offers " faith in action and the potency of action." The world for Professor Dewey is no fatalistic machine grinding out human doom. He insists that we must make room in it for " devotion, piety, love, beauty and mystery," which shall be as " real as anything else." " The situation," he tells us—and he prefers to speak of the situation rather than of the universe or the cosmos—" the situation is not indifferent to man, because it forms man as a desiring, thinking, feeling creature. . ." But we are never quite sure how much importance to attach to the good will of " the situation," for it has not, we are told, " made up its mind where it is going and what it is going to do." Now as between Mr. Krutch and Mr. Dewey, range me with Mr. Dewey every time, even although it takes some hardihood to live in that atmosphere. His world turns out in the end to be the matrix of human personality and not indifferent to it. Mind is personality's chief instrument, its highest endowment. With it man may explore his world and pioneer the more ideal order which he envisions. In such a world, faith is no visionary thing, no demonstrated failure; it has wrought hitherto and will work. But that faith must build, and this human experience has clearly shown, through enlarging structures of human solidarity.

It would be quite beside the mark to attribute the rise of contemporary humanisms to individual interpreters of its spirit. But there is no doubt that Professor Dewey has been one of the most potent promoters of the state of mind in which the dominant strains of American humanism readily flourish. Modernity is constituted of many strata, under enormous pressure from varied sources, none of which has been more powerful than physical science and evolutionary naturalism. Our philosopher virtually says: " Very well, then. Let us heartily accept this view of reality; but let us note that the

natural order, from which we ourselves have emerged, is an unfinished order, and let us confidently assume that we may have some conclusive part in its shaping and utilization." I am not aware that Mr. Dewey has ever acknowledged the term humanism as relevant to his view of life, but I take it that the term is apt. He believes in creative human capacity without finalities, without ultimate cosmic assumptions: we know that the great human experiment can go on because it actually does go on. Among those who do appropriate the term and employ it to designate their own philosophical outlook, there is perhaps none more able than Professor Sellars of the University of Michigan. His philosophy is a "humanistic naturalism." The new naturalism, as against the old, which was doctrinaire and reductive, is evolutionary and experimental. Man is, to a certain extent, the controller of his own destiny; in a changing world, he must "work out his own standards," and must relinquish the notion that "standards and their sanctions are eternal and supernatural." The freely chosen must replace the authoritative. For modernity, "the mythical veils have fallen." Man has now to "face life and grasp it." The principle of modern humanism is that of "progressive harmonization by significant ordering;" its goal is the good life, which is "always a more or less examined life." Thus "testing goes with living," and life finds its concrete ends in "health, wealth, will and wisdom." The collective task which confronts western civilization is that of "the mastery of the means of life and their use for the good life of man." We are explicitly told that "it is this conscious redirection of the spiritual energies of man for which humanism stands."

This interpretation of humanism, the view of it of which organized Christianity is most acutely aware, is disputed by that of the so-called literary humanists, whose position has been expounded for the past quarter of a century by Professor Irving Babbitt and Dr. Paul Elmer More. This general out-

look has had recent expression in the collaborated volume *Humanism and America.* In the understanding of it cherished by this type of humanist, reality exists upon three levels, the natural, the human, and the supernatural or religious. There is a sharp line of demarcation between them, however, and it is particularly insisted that the human is distinct from the natural. Humanism is viewed as criticism. Through criticism as an instrument, "balanced and proportionate living" is to be attained. Man has always lived by standards. Heretofore they have been traditional, but they must now be scrutinized and new and more adequate standards attained. The quest for a better world must of necessity begin, not on the periphery, in some program of restraint or social reform, but at the very center, with the individual himself. It must begin with him, for within him there is a conflict between higher and lower. The higher will must be established in control; a chastened inner life must moderate and harmonize the expansive desires of man. The individual, through self-discipline, must achieve poised and proportionate living. He must exercise the will to refrain. Romanticist modernism says, "Express yourself, give your impulses their fling!" Humanism cries, "Restrain yourself, discipline yourself!" Though Professor Babbitt "ranges" himself "on the side of the supernaturalists," he does not seek to support and reinforce humanism by religious sanctions; Paul Elmer More, on the other hand, has latterly felt the profound necessity of going on by the *via religiosa.* By and large, this type of humanism proposes a way which is essentially aristocratic; the future of society depends upon leadership, but one judges that the masses have poor prospect of ever entering that promised land which is the heritage of the disciplined soul. The view of life is essentially aristocratic.

The humanism of Walter Lippmann's *Preface to Morals* falls between the two strains thus far indicated. If the term "literary humanism" does less than justice to the position

held in common by the writers of *Humanism and America,* it is still more inept as a designation of Lippmann's outlook. None the less, his humanism focuses on the goals of the inner life, the virtues of courage, honor, faithfulness, veracity, temperance, magnanimity, love—goals to be won through self-discipline, and whose attainment is "high religion." The natural dominance of human passions which lead us astray must somehow be offset; it can be offset only by the regimen of discipline, a religion of the spirit—the human spirit—through which man may hope to recover that fresh, authentic sense of good in human relations on which any living morality must depend. Virtue is the end of "high religion," and to be virtuous is to respond to those larger situations and longer stretches of time of which our enlightened vision becomes aware, without preoccupation with their contribution to our own convenience or pleasure. Popular religion assumes, to be sure, that God governs the universe; but the acids of modernity have dissolved that faith; that ancient piety cannot be transplanted to the sidewalks of the city; traditional religion belongs to the countryside. The ancient sanctions which enforced the good life have gone. But "high religion" remains, even although without a soul, without immortality, without God. The alternative is "high religion"—ethical culture, one might term it—or no religion! Though Lippmann has perhaps more the attitude of the detached observer, both he and Sellars hold a morality touched with Stoicism, and, whether they acknowledge it or not, with Christianity.

Professor Sellars would also keep the term religion. Humanism is to be a religion, not a philosophy only. Man is to get on without any "Heavenly Companion." He is to make the most of life here and now, and with assurance, even although so far as science can tell him, "life and purpose are very local properties in the immensity of the stellar universe." Anthropomorphism and supernaturalism are too outgrown. The life of the spirit at its best is a cooperative life, but *spirit*

is redefined and naturalized. The cooperative life in which its realization culminates and in which religion and morality intertwine, is simply the highest phase of the natural. On this highest level, religion "comes of age." It no longer dramatizes the ultimate processes of natural evolution, anthropomorphizing their forces upon a cosmic stage; but in cherishing its hope of a greater mastery of these forces in the interest of all humanity and in so ordering life that those values which may be called spiritual shall dominate it, the race rises to the religious level, the level of a true spirituality. The churches have supported these ends to a good degree, hence we must "stand by them," yet with our eyes open to the fact that they are actually facing both ways at once, and with our hearts set on their complete humanization.

III

One inclines to sympathize with a reviewer of Sellars' *Religion Coming of Age,* who agrees that if we are but "orphans on a cinder flying round a decadent star toward the constellation Hercules, and if there are no levels of life above us, if there is nothing to worship and trust," there is nothing left to do but accept the fact; but that, if these conclusions are not final, "if they are the result of thought not sufficiently clear and thoroughgoing, to regard them as true and to adjust life to them is a tragedy." One cannot read Professor Haydon's *Quest of the Ages,* tracing with him the path which, in its search for the ultimate, humanity has trod with bleeding feet, and arrive at his pathetic conclusion: "Alas, we have only ourselves!" without a poignant sense of tragedy. But does humanism properly lead to any such end? The answer to that question involves every major issue in philosophy. There is, as I see it, no quarrel with the humanistic spirit. It is a protest against that ancient dualism which thought of God and the good as residents normally of another sphere, a sphere which might, indeed, impinge on

ours, but which at best impinged only now and again, leaving us in the meantime orphaned and impotent. Christendom has in the main carried some such assumption as the major premise of its thinking. There is possible as an alternative a view which may be called the higher naturalism, as against the older dogmatic and reductive naturalism, a view which finds nature, man and God not alien to each other, which posits no sharp break between nature and the supernatural, but which believes that the values and meanings of each is resident within one system of reality. No one, in my view of it, has been more truly humanistic in his general outlook than Professor Ames, who in his recent volume, *Religion*, touches upon the point at issue. He very significantly says of the type of humanism we have been discussing:

> Many advocates of modern "humanism". . . (suppose) that one term of a dualistic conception may be dropped while retaining the other. Convinced that the empirical values are the only values discoverable, they conclude that this justifies their naturalistic, humanistic interpretation of the world. They are therefore compelled to devote much of their strength to denying the existence of God and the supernatural. But as a result they are left with a truncated world, and the lower half of the old dualistic order. They have unwittingly separated man from nature by the same stroke, and have left their humanistic realm suspended between the void of matter on the one hand and the vacancy left on the other by the removal of the old supernaturalistic deity. (P. 174.)

The higher naturalism will propose a one-world world with the realities, values and meanings of the supernatural deeply implicated in and correlated with the natural. Such a naturalism will include all that the mental, the spiritual, the ideal, and so on, stood for in the older dualism. And one will find it quite impossible to interpret the meaning of those items which Professor Dewey insists must find as real a place as "matter" in any account of reality—such facts as the experience of "devotion, piety, love, beauty and mystery" without seeking an adequate basis in the structure of reality itself for

them. When one says that nature, or "the situation," has produced man, he has by implication hypostatized nature, or "the situation"; he has, that is to say, unless he means his language to be understood as sheer poesy instead of as a pointer to truth. The fact is that we are actually living within a context of reality which carries as potentially available for our uses all the fundamental values which an older dualistic view achieved and maintained, far more precariously, in another way. Various pointers in this direction are employed by different modern thinkers who appreciate the immanence of value in the order of nature, as Whitehead when he insists upon the "principle of concretion," Doctor Mathews when he refers to the "personality-producing forces," Professor Wieman when he instances a reality, to be known through sensuous experience, which reality may be called "that object . . . which will yield maximum security and abundance to all human living, when right adjustment is made." These pointers do not go as far as the logic of a religious view of the world may demand, but they certainly deal with that which human experience, once it is scrutinized, immediately yields.

The fact is, moreover, that Christendom has in great measure been living, somewhat paradoxically to be sure, by its humanistic insights. What I mean to say is that it has realized and emphasized in a certain measure, the imperative of personal autonomy. I mean to suggest that those very Christians who actually fertilized the cultural life of our western world by their personal idealisms and achievements found no contradiction between trusting God and working out their own salvation: they were trusting God as they worked out their own salvation. Kings had to be hedged about with constitutional rights, piracy on the high seas had to be put down, the rights of the third estate, and ultimately of the fourth estate, had to be secured, rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness must be guaranteed to every

man, the slave trade must be suppressed around the world—and for these objectives some men at least in every movement crusaded with the deep conviction that they were also in line with the will of God and the very constitution of the universe. Their social idealism was, for them, the way to the secret of the highest. This being the case, Christianity has no call to turn its back upon humanism merely because some moderns advocate a truncated humanism. On the contrary, Christianity is called upon to become more completely and intelligently humanistic. It is called upon to live more conclusively by those profounder insights which the race has won and to achieve the completest possible self-discipline in the interest of the common good. It still is true that "he who loseth his life shall find it," and he only. Not self-discipline alone, but self-discipline in the common cause of the ultimate racial good can alone release the most valid and the most assured sense of the reality of God, as it alone can produce the most admirable types of human personality.

What, then, shall be the Christian's attitude toward these self-proclaiming modern humanisms? Shall he discover here "another battle line"? There can be no doubt that inquiring individuals with a more intellectual bent will push the question as to what right one has, in our modern world, to go on talking about God. So far as these humanisms preoccupy themselves with this issue, they must be squarely met. The inquirer has a right to know. If any particular truncated form of humanism wishes to be known as atheism, if it insists that humanism *is* atheism, the issue is so far, *ipso facto,* joined. But, in so far as humanism espouses the cause of a more ample life, a larger life, for all, there can be no "battle line." In every specific cause of human uplift, the Christian humanist may find a brother, not an enemy, in every other enlisted humanist. The Christian humanist will remind himself that the ultimate test is the test of life—"by their fruits ye shall know them." And he will humbly await the verdict

of time. To be sure, when the answer to an age of questioning is finally passed in review, it may take the form of a syllogism, but its conclusive and vital impact will be that of a passionate and achieving idealism which moves straight on to its goal.

THE GROUND OF RELIGIOUS CERTAINTY

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In his recently published and deeply interesting and moving book, *What I Owe to Christ,* C. F. Andrews of India, the intimate friend of Mahatma Gandhi, tells how there came to him such an assurance of divine love at the heart of the universe as for him "changed the very scenery of daily existence." "The sky overhead," he writes, "seemed a brighter blue, the loveliness of nature became still more entrancing in its beauty . . . I went along in glorious exultation, almost as if I was treading upon air" (pp. 106, 107). So it was, according to the New Testament records, with the early believers. So unshakably sure were they of the Evangel, or good news, they believed and proclaimed, that there was an air of jubilant exultation and challenge about them. They had "joy in believing," we read. "Children of joy"—this is how an early writer, the writer of the *Epistle of Barnabas,* describes them, or as an Old Country scholar has translated the words, "God's gladsome bairns." "You could not go into the fields," says another writer about these early believers, "but you might hear the plowman at his hallelujahs, the mower at his hymns, and the vine-dresser singing David's Psalms." In Keble's words:

> They carried music in their hearts
> Through dusty lane and wrangling mart;
> Plying their daily tasks with busier feet
> Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.

Theirs was a triumphant and joyful assurance which had the effect of making their Christian witness infectious and alluring to others.

I

Today, however, we have somewhat lost this pristine radiance and assurance. A sense of uncertainty, even of bewilderment and perplexity, as regards religious truth and belief, has become wide-spread, and with it a wistful craving for the recovery of that note of assured and triumphant conviction which was one of the notes of the early church and is ever one of the authentic notes of a living Christian experience. Different circumstances might be indicated as contributing to this present wide-spread uncertainty and lack of assurance in matters of religious truth and belief—though we are not here in this paper to go in any detail into this matter of its causes. One is dissatisfaction on the part of many with traditional ways of formulating religious belief, ways which seem in great measure antiquated and strange to the modern mind. Another reason, among the more educated and reading section of our young people, is the influence of what is called the " New Psychology," which in its concentration on the investigation of the laws and methods of the mind's working and on how ideas and beliefs arise in the mind, calls in question, illegitimately indeed, but yet in very deed, the objective validity of the ideas and beliefs thus arising, and suggests that even such an elemental religious belief as the belief in God, in a great objective Power outside and above ourselves on whom we and the world are dependent, is but a mere " projection " of our own desires, a product of our own " wish-thinking." And back of all, as probably the deepest reason of all, is the dominance of that kind of secularistic, scientific temper of mind which too easily assumes that the only assured and certain knowledge is that which is attained in the realm of what is called " the exact sciences." What can be seen with the eye, what can be observed and tested by experiment, what can be accurately calculated and measured, what can be confidently and rationally predicted—

in a word, what we call " tangible facts "—that and that alone can truly be called knowledge. And because religious truth, truth about God and spiritual things, is not open to such tests, because it deals with the imponderable, the immeasurable, the incalculable, it is apt to be denied the name of knowledge, and at best assigned to faith, in a sense which is less than knowledge. " We have but faith," the poet says, reflecting for the moment the dominance of this scientific way of thinking:

> We have but faith, we cannot know,
> For knowledge is of things we see.

Some of our leading scientists today indeed—specially in the sphere of physical science—are in a very striking and significant way dissociating themselves from such an arrogant way of thinking. A new modesty, a new lack of dogmatic certainty, has come over our best scientific thinking. So that today it seems to be becoming the case that it is only our second-rate scientists who venture to enunciate and defend such a position as we have indicated. And yet our ordinary every-day thinking is still too much controlled by the scientific temper or attitude referred to, which calls in question the certainty of things spiritual.

II

In a time of such uncertainty, and wistful craving for greater assurance in religious matters, how—let us ask—is such assurance or certainty to be attained? How did the early believers attain their assurance and joyful exultation?

1. Well, first and to begin with, it was not through a knowledge *about* God or *about* Jesus which they had received from others, a second-hand knowledge, a knowledge received and believed in on the authority of those who had gone before them. Much of our religious knowledge today comes to us first in this way. We believe in God, and in a certain kind

of God, because our parents believed in him, or our Sunday school teachers and friends, or most inclusively the church in the atmosphere of which we were born and brought up. But there was little of such second-hand derived Christian religious knowledge for the early believers. They were "the first that ever burst" into the great sea of Christian religious belief and assurance. In that they were different from us and we from them. And we have the advantage over them in this at least, that we have come in the Christian church into a great heritage of Christian knowledge and experience from the past which encourages and summons us to Christian faith and belief. We have the cumulative evidence of the ages to guide and help us in our belief.

Yes; there is a place and a helpful place for such knowledge, the knowledge which comes to us by tradition in the church, that knowledge which is summed up and expressed most comprehensively in the creeds and confessions of the church, e. g., in the great words of the Apostle's Creed: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord." But such knowledge is only the record and ordered interpretation of others' experience of God and of Christ; and only when tested or put to the proof and verified in our own experience does it become for us true knowledge, assured knowledge, properly religious knowledge. And is it not the case that a great part of our weakness in the church at present is just this, that our religious knowledge is so much of it a second-hand knowledge, an heirloom from the past, and not a vital first-hand personal experience? With the result that when doubts and difficulties are suggested by scientific and philosophical thinking—much of it half-baked thinking—our religious beliefs too easily wither and decay because they are not rooted like that of the New Testament believers in the soil of a first-hand vital personal experience. No; it was not an

assurance based on a second-hand or derived knowledge about God or about Jesus Christ.

2. Again, second, still less is the source of religious certainty or assurance to be found in *reasoning about* God—reasoning as to his existence and character in the way some of the old arguments for the existence of God did. From evidences of intelligence and reason in the world, for example, from the fact that the world in which we find ourselves is intelligible, men in all ages have argued to a Supreme Intelligent Power back of all; just as from the fact that we find a work of Shakespeare intelligible we argue to an intelligence or reason like our own, even if greater and vaster, in Shakespeare. Or again, from evidences of moral purpose in history, in the history of men and nations, men have argued to a Moral Power over all, "a Power not ourselves making for righteousness."

Such arguments, indeed, have their place and value still, so that we find present-day scientists and scientific philosophers like Jeans, Eddington and Whitehead saying that behind the universe there must be "a pure Mathematician," or a "Poet," or "Artist"—so many evidences are there in the world of order and beauty and symmetry. But not so, as these scientists and scientific philosophers themselves acknowledge, do we arrive at certainty, at assurance about God and things spiritual. Along this line God becomes but a cold hypothesis to explain the world, a speculation, at most a probability, not a warm present assured conviction. The story is told of Voltaire, the French sceptic, that one day as he was walking with a friend along the streets of Paris, a religious procession carrying a crucifix passed by. Voltaire lifted his hat, at which his friend expressed surprise, that he a professing sceptic or infidel should so act. To which Voltaire replied, with delicate irony, "We salute but we do not speak." That word of Voltaire's is a not unfitting description of many men's relationship to God today. They believe that

God is, in the sense that they cannot explain the universe without him. They are theists in a sense Voltaire was not, they believe in God's existence, but they have no joy or exultation in so believing, because they have no experience of personal relationship with him, no personal fellowship or friendship with him.

3. For, third, this way of *personal fellowship with God* is the only way in which religious assurance, triumphant joyous religious assurance, comes. It comes of the experience of personal communion with God. It may be compared, it has been compared, to the knowledge which friends have one of another. It is not so much knowledge about God as knowledge of God; the knowledge of personal acquaintance, the experience-knowledge of the worth or value of his presence and working in our lives. "I know whom I have believed"—not "what" but "whom"—"and am persuaded that he is able." As the Reformers put it, with special reference to Christ, "to know Christ is to know his benefits," (*hoc est Christum cognoscere ejus beneficia cognoscere*).

III

Such was the knowledge of the early believers, an experience-knowledge of the wonder and worth of God's love and power as revealed in the crucified but now risen, living Christ. Theirs was an assurance-knowledge which was based on such a personal experience as caused them to have joy in believing, and allured others into the way of a like experience. And such is ever the most effective and infectious witness to the truth of our Christian belief. Of course, we should try to support our Christian religious belief by meeting and answering such doubts or difficulties as may be raised by scientific or philosophical thinking. We should endeavor to be able to face these difficulties honestly and with intellectual integrity, with a view to showing that Christ is, as he claimed, the Truth as well as the Way and the Life, and that Christianity is thus

our "reasonable service," something which we can assent to with "all that is within us." But after all the most effective defence of and witness to the Christian gospel is the witness of the life, the witness of a living rejoicing experience of Christ's power to save and bless.

In his book entitled *Yesterday, Today and For Ever,* W. Canton tells how one winter night he sat up late in his study reading the most recent defence of Christian truth and belief, until he fell asleep by the fireside. He was awakened in the early morning by a plowman, tramping along on the hard frosty road under the study window, on his way to work singing to himself as he went. As he listened, he caught the words of Charles Wesley's hymn:

My God, the spring of all my joys,
The life of my delights,
The glory of my brightest days
And comfort of my nights.

In darkest shades if thou appear,
My dawning is begun;
Thou art my soul's bright morning star,
And thou my rising sun.

Says Canton in recalling the experience: "The words penetrated my heart with an unearthly thrill of conviction which none of the evidence books could achieve. The philosophers might argue in favor of God's existence; the plowman was rejoicing in the experience of God's love." Yes, doubts and hesitations may creep into the mind of the man whose faith rests on mere intellectual argument or on borrowed belief; they cannot invade the soul of the man who has the witness in his own heart and life.

Whoso hath felt the Spirit of the Highest
Cannot confound nor doubt him nor deny;
Yea, with one voice, O world, though thou deniest
Stand thou on that side, for on this am I.

AS WE TOGETHER WALKED

SPENSER B. MEESER

Ridley Park, Pa.

I met him as I sought my way to God.
He came a sudden from I knew not where,
And turned up somehow on my chosen road.

I moved to find some fellowship with him,
Though much I feared we came of alien faiths,
But lo! one light I found was leading both.

As we together walked I found this out—
That he was also fellow of the Light,
And walked with that same humble mien I praised;
Was gentle in his spirit like my Lord.
He grieved at human suffering and was kind,
His pity made him ready to forgive.
He spurned no fellow-follower on the way,
While little children won his heart and smile.

As we together walked I found this out—
That East and West there shines in each a Light,
The Light that lighteth every man to God,
And in that Light the twain shall ever meet.

CHASTISEMENTS OF THE DIVINE LOVE

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THE subject of this study was suggested by the distress which in our generation like a flood has slowly but surely engulfed the whole human race. Men of faith today, just as so often in days gone by, are compelled to wrestle with the question why innocent, righteous persons are suffering along with the thief and the murderer, or often when the criminal goes free. What can the religious person say about God when such tragedies as now fill the world face him on every side? In the space of a single paper, it is impossible to consider the many answers that have been made to this eternal question. It is our purpose rather to outline the development of just one significant approach to the problem: the belief that the afflictions which righteous persons undergo are chastisements of the divine love, whose purpose is to develop those qualities of character in the sufferer which religious persons believe are found in God himself. Nor is it proposed here to attempt an adequate solution of the problem, but we suggest in passing that the prophet who today would tell us about God may well begin at this point. At the outset, I am presenting two illustrations from popular sources which show the wide prevalence in our own time of the belief that the most tragic suffering may be sent by a loving God upon religious persons.

On June 3, 1931, the Associated Press carried the following story from Lincoln, Nebraska:

> Charles E. Johnson, sixty-six, voluntarily returned today to the Nebraska Penitentiary, from which he escaped thirty-eight years ago, to serve out seven months of a two-year term for forgery.
>
> Entirely reconciled, he told Warden W. T. Fenton, to completing his sentence, Johnson frequently repeated:
>
> "I might have been dead—God saved me from the sea."

Thus he told questioners, he would repay Providence for snatching him from the sea when he clung to a rock off the coast of Japan three months ago after a shipwreck.

Johnson walked here from his former home at Oakland, Nebraska, to which he returned last week after wandering the globe since his escape from prison in 1893.

An illustration which is even more to the point is a letter published by the Baltimore *Evening Sun* "Forum," July 21, 1931. The correspondent was writing in reply to a young woman who had given up her faith in prayer because of disappointments which she had suffered. She writes:

Never have I read a more interesting letter in the "Forum" than that of the young lady who signs herself "It's the Truth." It is sincere. It expresses honest doubt.

But I must insist that she assumes too much when considering that she understand all her needs, her prŏblems, her difficulties. God answers only those prayers which he knows are best for the supplicant. Who are we that we dare question a divine decision?

It is clear that my friend instinctively feels that God is good. But she finds her faith shaken when the Almighty grants her nothing but pain. Does she not see that her suffering is but a test, that it is but a crucible in which the fabric of her character will be either ignominiously consumed or triumphantly strengthened?

I

My son, despise not the discipline of the Lord,
And resent not his correction;
For whom the Lord loves he corrects,
Even as a father the son in whom he delights (Prov. 3:11, 12).[1]

The most profound change that ever came over religious thought about suffering was that by which adversity came to be regarded as a blessing from God. The Hebrew religion in its classic form was deeply rooted in the belief that prosperity is the unfailing accompaniment of righteousness and

[1] Quotations from the Bible are from *The Old Testament, An American Translation,* by J. M. P. Smith, and *The New Testament, An American Translation,* by E. J. Goodspeed, by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

that adversity is the unmistakable mark of sin. Prosperity and adversity come upon man according to the inexorable law of Yahweh himself. But there came a time when this superficial rationalization of human experience was not only repudiated but actually reversed. Prosperity came to be regarded as the mark of sin and adversity as the evidence of righteousness. This change had begun before the close of the Old Testament times. Job, Second Isaiah and Koheleth had denied the proposition that righteousness and prosperity are always found together. The old belief had rested upon the simple propositions that Yahweh rules the world; Yahweh is a just God; therefore he justly recompenses all conduct in this life. Although it is obvious that this philosophy of human experience is entirely inadequate, that it does not at all correspond to the actual realities of life, it represented in its time one of the most significant advances in Hebrew thought about God. It was Amos, in the eighth century B. C., who for the first time formulated the idea that Yahweh was a just God. From that time on, nearly all the prophets made ethics central in religion. This emphasis was admirable, although the theological basis upon which it rested came in time to be untenable.

The basis of this view of religion was the belief in absolute justice in this life. Yahweh was regarded as a just judge and his decisions were believed to be in harmony with the immutable principles of justice. The tender elements of mercy and love were lacking. Men suffered for their sins, measure for measure. Eventually, however, it became obvious that wicked men prospered and that good men suffered, so that it was necessary to formulate more adequate ideas of God. Job was so outraged with Yahweh's ways that he at times defied him as an unjust God. Second Isaiah frankly recognized that the Hebrews were not suffering for sins which they had committed, that they had far more than expiated their own guilt, and proposed the view instead that

they were an innocent, vicarious sacrifice to atone for the sins of all the nations. Koheleth despaired of seeing any purpose whatever in suffering. He regarded human experience as a hopeless chaos in which the righteous had no better chance than the wicked.

The old belief in just recompense in this life was finally shattered, therefore, upon the grim rocks of human experience, for it became clear that life did not correspond with the proposition, and it was replaced with the daring faith that adversity itself is a blessing from God. This transformation may represent a frank acceptance of a pessimistic submission and resignation to a cruel fate, but it was possible only after two other developments of vast consequence in Hebrew thought had taken place. One of these was the rise of the belief in a life after death, in which the righteous would receive their reward and the wicked their just punishment. The old Hebrew religion knew nothing of a life after death, save a dismal, shadowy existence in the gloomy cavern of Sheol, into which righteous and wicked alike were doomed to go. But by the close of Old Testament times a belief in a future life was generally held. It was conceived either in terms of a physical resurrection of the righteous to enter the Messianic Kingdom, and of the wicked to enter punishment, or in terms of a spiritual immortality along the lines of Greek thought.

The other new element in Hebrew thought was the belief that Yahweh was a God of love, and that he used the afflictions of life to prepare men for rewards after death. Hosea in the eighth century had introduced the idea that Yahweh loved Israel just as a father loves his child and that he was grieved over the afflictions of his beloved people. In time this love for the nation was thought to apply also to individual persons, and so by the time of the rise of Christianity the idea of Yahweh as a loving father who tenderly cared for his children had become a fundamental element of Jewish faith.

One of the earliest expressions of the belief in a resurrection of the dead occurs in the post-exilic Isaiah 26: 19:

> But thy dead will live, their bodies will rise,
> Those who dwell in the dust will awake, and will sing for joy;
> For thy dew is a dew of light,
> And the earth will bring the Shades to birth.

But the most definite expression of this faith is Daniel 12: 2, 3, written about 165 B. C.:

> And many of those who sleep in the land of dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and others to everlasting reproach and contempt. Then those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, those who have led the multitudes to righteousness like the stars forever and ever.

Neither of these passages is an unqualified assertion that all human beings who have ever lived will be raised from the dead and live through eternity, but the ideas of immortality involving rewards and punishments have begun to receive clear expression, and from the time of Daniel on through New Testament times those ideas are fundamental in Jewish and Christian thought. When these beliefs reached full maturity, the religion of the Hebrews, which during all the centuries of its classic period had stood firmly upon the proposition that the blessings of the righteous man are long life, wisdom and prosperity here on the earth, had become an other-worldly religion and begun to expect blessings mainly after death.

In this way, Hebrew saints came to regard suffering in this life as the expression of Yahweh's love, which was sent to prepare them for life after death. Life on the earth lost its zest and was considered at best a mere preparation for the life to come. This shows a complete transformation of the old Hebrew idea of the values of life and of the significance of the tragedies of human experience. Instead of regarding such suffering as Job endured as the consequence of sin, it

might now be thought of as proceeding from the solicitous love of God, who in this way was endeavoring to enhance the good qualities of man's soul in order that he might be fitted at death for eternal rewards.

II

There are many illustrations of this new way of interpreting human suffering in the Jewish writings of the interbiblical period, i. e., the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[2] The greatest tragedies of that period were those which accompanied the Maccabean war for religious freedom (167-161 B. C.). Many Jews bravely died rather than to give up the religion of their fathers at the command of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel was written at that time to steady the Jews under persecution. Stories of the martyrdoms were told for many decades and the horrors were probably exaggerated as the years passed. The most gruesome account is 2 Maccabees, which was written about 100 B. C. Although not strictly historical, this book reveals the religious faith of the time. It preserves the story of seven brothers, and finally their old mother, who were executed on one occasion, their bodies being horribly mutilated in the presence of all. But in the midst of their suffering they gave ardent expression to their faith:

> Thou dost dispatch us from this life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, and revive us to life everlasting (7:9). 'Tis meet for those who perish at men's hands to cherish hope divine that they shall be raised up by God again; but thou . . . thou shalt have no resurrection to life (7:14). These our brothers, after enduring a brief pain, have now drunk of overflowing life, in terms of God's covenant, but thou shalt receive by God's judgment the just penalty of thine arrogance (7:36).

A similar hope of resurrection was expressed also by an old man who took his own life rather than to fall into the hands

[2] R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, 2 Vols., 1913.

of his enemies (14:46). These statements show a belief in a resurrection for the righteous only, but there is to be punishment for the wicked.

The author of 2 Maccabees was very careful to formulate his philosophy of the sufferings which his people had endured, so that the reader would not mistake their significance. He writes:

> Now I beseech the readers of this book not to be discouraged by such calamities, but to reflect that our people were being punished by way of chastening and not for their destruction. For indeed it is a mark of great kindness when the impious are not let alone for a long time, but punished at once. In the case of other nations, the Sovereign Lord in his forbearance refrains from punishing them till they have filled up their sins to the full, but in our case he has determined otherwise, that his vengeance may not fall on us in after-days when our sins have reached their height. Wherefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us; and though he chasteneth his own people with calamity, he forsaketh them not (2 Mac. 6:12-16).

In this passage the sufferings of the Hebrews are definitely regarded as chastisements of the divine love for the sake of the eternal welfare of their souls. The writer freely acknowledges that they have sinned, but in many cases the suffering is not due to sin but is the affliction of innocent persons. This is regarded as the chastening of a loving God. It is believed, moreover, to have an atoning value before God in behalf of those who are actually guilty, and is in that sense a vicarious sacrifice.

It is in that light that 4 Maccabees, produced near the time of the birth of Jesus, in describing those same sufferings, states:

> And these men, therefore, having sanctified themselves for God's sake, not only have received this honor, but also the honor that through them the enemy had no more power over our people, and the tyrant suffered punishment, and our country was purified, they having as it were become a ransom for our nation's sin; and through the blood of

these righteous men and the propitiation of their death, the divine Providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated (17:20-22).

Numerous passages might be cited from the interbiblical period which present this view of suffering. Typical examples are Sirach 18:13; 21:6; 35:14-17; the Psalms of Solomon 3:4; 10:1-3; 13:8. But nowhere is it more impressively expressed than in the Wisdom of Solomon 3:1-8:

> But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
> And no torment shall touch them.
> In the eyes of fools they seemed to die;
> And their departure was accounted to be their hurt,
> And their going from us their ruin:
> But they are in peace.
> For though in the sight of men they be punished,
> Their hope is full of immortality;
> And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good;
> Because God tested them, and found them worthy of himself.
> As gold in the furnace he proved them,
> And as a whole burnt offering he accepted them.
> And in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth,
> And like sparks among stubble they shall run to and fro.
> They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples;
> And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore.

III

The idea that sufferings might be the chastisements of love was well known also in the thought of Rabbinic Judaism. The rabbis understood thereby sufferings that came upon a righteous man without any connection with transgressions which might have gone before. They were sent upon a man by God simply to chasten and purify him. It was believed ordinarily that such sufferings could be distinguished from others by the fact that they did not prevent one from the study of the Torah or from prayer. They formulated their belief thus: there are chastisements without guilt,[8] for ordi-

[8] Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash*, II, p. 193ff.

narily it was held that there was no affliction of a guiltless person. Suffering was highly evaluated by the rabbis, because they held that on the basis of their sufferings God had given three gifts to the Israelites which the nations of the world longed for: the Torah, the land of Israel, and the future world. They taught that suffering is the way which brings man into the future world, and that a reflection of the divine glory falls upon him who has come into suffering.

A passage attributed to a rabbi who died in A. D. 309. no doubt represents the belief of Judaism from the inter-biblical period on down to his time. This rabbi (Rab Chisda) taught that when a man sees suffering come upon him, he should at once examine his works. If he finds no sin in his life, he should attribute the suffering to neglect of the study of the Torah. But if here he also finds nothing amiss, the afflictions are certainly to be recognized as the chastisements of divine love. God smites with chastisements those who please him most, and whoever receives them with understanding and good-will will have a long life and see posterity. Sufferings are therefore a means to lead men to repentance, but since penitence has an atoning power, suffering is a means of atonement before God. Chastisements of love have as their purpose to increase the merit and reward of man. But the value of suffering is not fully exhausted thereby, for it was an old Israelite belief that in many cases innocent persons have to suffer for the guilt of the wicked, and also that the suffering of the righteous becomes a vicarious sacrifice to atone for the sins of others. The death of the righteous and of martyrs was believed to possess an atoning power which benefited the entire people.[4]

It was a profound faith in the divine providence which could thank God not only for prosperity, but also for adversity. It was argued that if a slave was given his freedom if his master struck out one of his teeth or eyes, for the loss of

[4] Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 274ff.

only one member of his body, even so much more would the suffering of death bring merit to the righteous man. So God brings suffering upon the righteous in this life in order that he may inherit the future world.[5] In this way it was taught that one should rejoice over his afflictions more than over the good things of life, for if one spends his entire life in good fortune his sins will not thereby be forgiven. How would his sins be forgiven? The answer is through suffering. Just as a father punishes a son, so Yahweh chastens those whom he loves. What is it that brings the father and son together again? It is suffering that reconciles them.[6] Moreover, it was believed that profaning the name of Yahweh was so terrible that only death could cause it to be forgiven, so that in such a case capital punishment could be regarded as a blessing to the victim.[7]

It is evident therefore that Judaism seriously came to grips with the problem of suffering and in some cases was able to attribute great positive values to it. But it should be remembered that the chastisements of love were the exception and not the rule. This was the interpretation of the sufferings of persons who were beyond question innocent. The usual procedure was to regard affliction as the certain mark of sin. But this exception to the rule represents a great advance in the direction of a fuller and more sympathetic consideration of human personality. This interpretation was unthinkable in the times of the great prophets of the Old Testament. To Ezekiel it would have been the rankest heresy, and even the author of Job did not rise to this new height. The nearest approach to this humane view of the rabbis was made by Second Isaiah, but he did not see the problem in individual terms. The most that he could do was to propose the view that the nation as a whole was vicariously suffering for the sins of other nations. The view of the rabbis made it

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[6] *Ibid.*, III, p. 798; cf. also G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, pp. 546-552.
[7] Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, I, p. 636

unnecessary to regard every suffering person as a sinner. It represents a much more profound knowledge of human nature than earlier beliefs had shown. It allowed the sufferer, in many cases, instead of being despised as a sinner, as Job was, to enjoy a heroic rôle and wear the martyr's crown. In its interpretation of suffering, Judaism went far beyond anything the Hebrew religion in its earlier forms had ever attained.

IV

Jesus himself is best understood against the background of Judaism out of which he arose. In his time Judaism was distinctly marked off into certain well-defined groups. It was a state or national religion and its priesthood was largely monopolized by the Sadducees, who were more interested in their own prosperity than in the religious welfare of the people as a whole. The Pharisees, an intellectual, legalistic, aristocratic religious order of about six thousand persons, were the chief source of the religious inspiration of the time. They were interested in the Torah and their rabbis organized synagogues in every important community to teach it to the common people; but their emphasis upon ceremonial purity, precision in tithing, etc., often discouraged the masses in their attempts to live the religious life. There was a small group of ascetics known as Essenes who strove to lead an ideal life in seclusion, but they were not of much general importance. Over against these organized groups stood the masses of the people, the people of the land, the *Am ha-Aretz,* whose main concern was to secure food, shelter and clothing. Religiously they were under the influence of the Pharisees, but they were by no means members of that order. They were scorned by the Pharisees as ignorant and unclean, because they did not fully know or keep the Torah. All these groups were to some extent restive under the Roman domination, and certain ones known as zealots were especially

so. The rebellious Jews were divided as to the procedure to be followed. They all yearned for deliverance from the Romans and national independence, but while some believed that one of their own number, a great leader like David, would rise up to be their Messiah and break the foreign yoke, others were opposed to any expression of violence on their part and believed that Yahweh himself would intervene and reveal a Messiah in glory from heaven to deliver them, in this way bringing in the Messianic Age. Those who held this latter hope were called apocalyptists.

Jesus himself was the son of parents who belonged to the masses of the people. He was neither Sadducee, Pharisee, nor Essene. He was a member of the *Am ha-Aretz* and was thus despised by the Pharisees as one who did not know the law. At the same time, he shared the resentment of this popular class against the self-righteous attitude of the Pharisees and often pointed out their superficiality, although many of his most precious beliefs he held in common with them. When Jesus was of age he came under the influence of one of the apocalyptist prophets by the name of John, and this contact seems to have largely determined the remaining course of his life. He became John's disciple, and as soon as John was arrested by Herod Antipas Jesus took up the work which John had been forced to lay down, and carried it on with much greater success. He gave up John's practise of remaining like Elijah in the wilderness and mixed freely with the people wherever they were found. He preached the apocalyptic hope that God was ready to set up the kingdom and urged men to repent in order to be ready for it.

The ministry of Jesus, therefore, was an effort to prepare men for the Messianic kingdom which he believed was ready to appear. That new divine age was to last forever. His thought is not always clear, as it has come down to us, but he seems at times to use heaven and kingdom of heaven interchangeably, or, at any rate, to believe that the Messianic

kingdom will eventually be transformed into heaven itself. Jesus taught that all the struggle of life should be directed to that future world. He says:

> Do not store up your riches on earth, where moths and rust destroy them, and where thieves break in and steal them, but store up your riches in heaven, where moths and rust cannot destroy them, and where thieves cannot break in and steal them (Matt. 6:19, 20).

Likewise, on one occasion, when a man asked Jesus how to gain eternal life, after telling him to keep the moral law, Jesus proceeded to say:

> If you want to be perfect, go! Sell your property and give the money to the poor, and you will have riches in heaven. Then come back and be a follower of mine (Matt. 19:21).

In this way Jesus pronounced a blessing upon the sufferings that come from being poor, for they are regarded as a way to heaven. He regards luxury and prosperity as sinful and out of harmony with the spiritual life. This contrast is very clear in the earlier form of the beatitudes:

> Blessed are you who are poor, for the Kingdom of God is yours!
> Blessed are you who are hungry now, for you will be satisfied!
> Blessed are you who weep now, for you will laugh!
> Blessed are you when people hate you and exclude you and denounce you and spurn the name you bear as evil, on account of the Son of Man. Be glad when that happens and leap for joy, for you will be richly rewarded in heaven, for that is the way their forefathers treated the prophets.
> But alas for you who are rich, for you have had your comfort!
> Alas for you who have plenty to eat now, for you will be hungry!
> Alas for you who laugh now, for you will mourn and weep!
> Alas for you when everyone speaks well of you, for that is the way their forefathers treated the false prophets! (Luke 6:20-26.)

With the possible exception of part of the fourth beatitude, there seems no good reason for doubting that this passage accurately represents the teaching of Jesus. All through

it there runs the antithesis between prosperity and adversity in this life as indications of sin and righteousness, but also certainly foreshadowing the reversal of fortunes that will take place in the age to come. In four striking paradoxes, Jesus successively pronounces blessings upon the poor, the hungry, those who are in mourning, and those whose good names are defamed. Then, in order that no one may possibly mistake his meaning, he turns the paradoxes around and pronounces woes upon the rich, those who now have plenty to eat, those who are happy now, and those whose names are well spoken of. No one could more clearly repudiate the old Hebrew idea that prosperity is God's greatest blessing upon mankind and emphasize the belief that adversity is the sure sign of divine favor. In the later form of the beatitudes preserved in Matthew 5: 3-12, this teaching of Jesus has been entirely changed, so that "the poor" become "the poor in spirit," and "the hungry" become "those who hunger for righteousness," etc. Matthew's form of the beatitudes is usually more acceptable to modern persons, but scholarly opinion is almost unanimous in regarding it as later than the version of Luke.

Luke has made the teaching of Jesus about the relative spiritual significance of prosperity and adversity doubly clear by relating one of the most impressive stories that Jesus ever told. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus might well have been joined to Luke's version of the beatitudes, for it perfectly illustrates in a vivid, concrete way that which is there set forth in abstract form. It begins:

> There was once a rich man, who used to dress in purple and fine linen, and to live in luxury every day. And a beggar named Lazarus was put down at his gate covered with sores. . . (Luke 16: 19).

In this parable, as well as in the Lukan beatitudes, the only considerations which enter into the determination of the future state of the soul are the respective conditions of pros-

perity and adversity in this life. Another saying of Jesus which sets forth this same paradox is the following:

> If anyone wants to go with me, he must disregard himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever wants to preserve his own life will lose it, and whoever loses his life for me and for the good news will preserve it. For what good does it do a man to gain the whole world and yet part with his life? For what can a man give to buy back his life? (Mark 8:34-37.)

Jesus here makes it clear that the suffering which comes as a result of living a righteous life will bring eternal rewards. This passage supplements those others which appear to pronounce a blessing upon the sufferer regardless of his character. He promises blessings only to the righteous sufferer, but to such persons affliction is a sure sign of eternal rewards in the age to come. It is clear that Jesus condemned the prosperous, luxurious life and regarded suffering and adversity as the means which God uses to prepare righteous souls for the life to come. He did not regard suffering only as a retaliatory measure which God uses to punish sinners, but also as a refining process to prepare those whom God loves finally to enter into the divine presence.

V

The shadow that came over the disciples from the crucifixion of Jesus only served to throw his teaching about the value of suffering for the spiritual life into a clearer light. He became the first of a long line of martyrs for the faith which he preached, and as time passed there were many who found it an increasing joy thus to follow in his steps. For several decades, the converts were made largely from the ranks of the poor; they knew little of the good things of life, but much of adversity. What Jesus had said about the dangers of prosperity and the blessings of adversity now had a deeper meaning than ever, as they struggled for the religious

life in the midst of an unfriendly world. Now more definitely than ever they turned away from earthly things and set their faces toward heaven. At the same time, they were grateful for their consciousness of the blessing of God; they joyfully endured their tribulations and longed for passage to the divine world. The trials were distressing for the moment, but they were for the purpose of proving that their faith was more precious than gold, and eventually would bring them to their imperishable, unsullied and unfading inheritance in heaven (1 Peter 1: 3-8). They reminded one another that it is the mark of a true father to chasten the children whom he loves. This proves that children are not illegitimate. God is only a real father in this respect (Heb. 12: 5-13; Rev. 3: 19). Like the saints of old, they readily forsook their earthly habitations, and the victory of faith enabled them to look "forward to that city with the sure foundations, designed and built by God" (Heb. 11: 10).

Because of the numerous letters of his which we possess, we have a more accurate record of the life of Paul than of any other early Christian, and no one ever believed more profoundly in the positive, refining values of suffering than did he. It was this faith which enabled him to write, "We are disciplined by the Lord, so that we may not be condemned along with the world" (1 Cor. 11: 32). So strong was his faith in this respect, that Paul actually made out a list of the sufferings which he had endured; and he contemplated them with pride (1 Cor. 11: 16-33). And he wrote:

> So I am perfectly willing to boast of all my weakness, so that the strength of Christ may shelter me. That is why I am pleased with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions, and difficulties, when they are endured for Christ's sake, for it is when I am weak that I am strong (1 Cor. 12: 10).

In prison shortly before his death, Paul expressed his desire to depart and be with Christ (Phil. 1: 23). He suffered from

some bitter affliction from which he seems never to have recovered, but he interpreted this as a messenger of Satan which God had sent to harass him for the good of his soul (2 Cor. 12:7). Paul clearly formulated his philosophy of suffering in a classic passage:

> So I never lose heart. Though my outer nature is wasting away, my inner is being renewed every day. For this slight, momentary trouble is piling up for me an eternal blessedness beyond all comparison, because I keep my eyes not on what is seen but what is unseen. For what is seen is transitory, but what is unseen is eternal. For I know that if this earthly tent that I live in is taken down, God will provide me a building in heaven to live in, not built by human hands but eternal. This makes me sigh with longing to put on my heavenly dwelling, for if I do, I shall never find myself disembodied (2 Cor. 4:16 to 5:3).

VI

Soon after the first generation of the disciples of Jesus had died, the belief that suffering is the chastisement of divine love attained a still further development in the rise of a martyr cult. It was now understood that the martyr's death was the only certain way in which one could become a true disciple of Jesus. Had not Jesus said: "If anyone wants to go with me, he must disregard himself, and take up his cross and follow me," and "Whosoever loses his life for me . . . will preserve it"? This saying was now taken by many to mean that to become a true disciple, one must die just as his Master had died. At the beginning it was not a crime to be a Christian, provided one also complied with certain patriotic requirements of the Roman government, such, for example, as worshiping the emperor. But Christians could not conscientiously do this, so that they often came into conflict with the authorities. They had also clashed with the Jewish leaders a few times with fatal results. A considerable number were thus executed during the first century, but the disciples themselves had not courted martyrdom. Early in

the second century, however, a type of mind developed which caused many deliberately to seek execution in order to attain the martyr's crown. The best early example of this was Ignatius, third bishop of Antioch in Syria, who was executed in Rome some time during the reign of Trajan (A. D. 98-117). We have the attitude of this man expressed in his own words, for on his way to Rome he wrote letters to several churches which had shown him kindness, one to his friend Polycarp, and also one to the church in Rome which he had not yet seen. He wrote the letter to Rome in an effort to persuade the church there to do nothing that would thwart his ambition to die as a martyr.[8] He writes:

I am writing to all the churches, and I give injunctions to all men, that I am dying willingly for God's sake, if you do not hinder it. I beseech you, be not "an unseasonable kindness" to me. Suffer me to be eaten by the beasts, through whom I can attain to God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread of Christ. Rather entice the wild beasts that they may become my tomb, and leave no trace of my body, that when I fall asleep I be not burdensome to any. Then shall I be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world shall not even see my body (4:1, 2).

I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found prompt for me; I will even entice them to devour me promptly; not as has happened to some whom they have touched not from fear; even if they be unwilling of themselves, I will force them to it. Grant me this favour. I know what is expedient for me; now I am beginning to be a disciple. May nothing of things seen or unseen envy me my attaining to Jesus Christ. Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, rackings of bones, mangling of limbs, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ! (5:1-3.)

Suffer me to follow the example of the passion of my God (6:3).

The pains of birth are upon me (6:1).

Grant me nothing more than that I be poured out to God, while an altar is still ready, that forming yourselves into a chorus of love, you may sing to the Father in Christ Jesus, that God has vouchsafed that the bishop of Syria shall be found at the setting of the sun, having

[8] Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I, pp. 224-239.

fetched him from the sun's rising. It is good to set to the world toward God, that I may rise to him (2:2).

In these fervent prayers of Ignatius, the Hebrew and Christian interpretation of suffering completed a circle. That which had been regarded formerly as an unmitigated evil, as the unmistakable mark of sin, has now become an unalloyed blessing, the only certain way to divine glory. During the course of the second century, it came to be believed that the martyr's death guaranteed the forgiveness of all sins; that persons who otherwise would be lost, would be saved if they died as martyrs; that suffering for Christ was just as effective in the forgiveness of sins as baptism.[9] The martyr's crown was the one certain guarantee of immortality.

VII

The belief that suffering might be the means used by the divine love to lift man up to the high level of the spiritual life was the most adequate interpretation of human tragedies that came from the Hebrew mind. This was the great advance of Judaism and Christianity over the older forms of the Hebrew religion. This view recognizes, on the one hand, that affliction often comes upon innocent persons and, on the other, that many of the noblest qualities of character are developed only through adversity and suffering. This positive evaluation of suffering the earlier Hebrews had never made, and we must recognize it as a great advance, whether we accept the theory upon which it is based or not. The theory that God does actually afflict people with suffering, as this view assumes, is a legitimate question for investigation, but the positive evaluation of suffering which rested upon it is not necessarily lost even if the theory be discarded. This faith removed the anguish of saints like Job, it recognized the constructive element of affliction in the refinement

[9] Cf. Hermas *Sim.* ix. 28; Tertullian *Scorpiace* vi.

of character, and it furnished an adequate morale for those who found it necessary to die for their faith. But in time this idea became a snare and began to defeat its own purpose. The exaggerated frenzy of the martyr cult became a tragic waste of human life which the church itself finally found it necessary to curb by judicious regulation. Perhaps the most valid criticism of this faith is that, while it directs attention to another life, it tends to develop a hopeless pessimism with reference to this world, which paralyzes all effort to eradicate the evils of the existing social order. It develops a feeling that there is no way to eliminate disease, crime, poverty, and the corruption of politics, until this world has passed away and the new divine world has come. This criticism, however, cannot justly be directed against all those who have held an other-worldly type of religion, for many of the most noted apocalyptists have devoted all their energy to the improvement of this present world.

The essential validity of this faith rests upon the fact that it testifies to the ability of the human spirit, inspired by religion, to draw its life from a world that is invisible, from realities that are divine. It is this profound spiritual truth which, in spite of the changes in thought-forms that have intervened, makes the religious persons of our time one with the saints of old.

THE CHURCH AND PUBLIC WORSHIP

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INTERESTING, and we believe significant, is the rediscovery and revaluation of public worship. This new "concern" takes on the characteristics and the drive of a movement. All of our churches, notably the non-liturgical, are swept along by its power. Those who have hitherto eschewed the stately liturgical forms are employing them boldly or in modification. Those whose public services were so far afield from worship as to move in an atmosphere not unlike that of a political convention, even these are in quest of order and dignity in a service of worship. Everywhere our ministers are giving attention to the "atmosphere of public worship," to orders of service, and those elements of a simple liturgy which tend to enrich the hour of public meeting.

Not only so; this movement has gathered such force as to modify church architecture in striking particulars. Old structures, not infrequently architectural monstrosities, are being completely altered to change a meeting-place into a house of worship. And when we consider new churches one must be impressed by what amounts to a renaissance of the Gothic. Striking examples of this may be found even among such violently non-liturgical groups as the Methodist and Baptist whose new churches are almost universally modified by the worship motive. The ideal of a "work-shop" which dominated American church architecture of a generation ago has been cast down from its high seat and ordered to make room for a place specifically dedicated to public worship.

Almost amazing is the power of this worship hunger to move church furnishings about. Not only is there a decided tidying-up of the auditorium when it comes to be considered a place of worship, but the communion table becomes an altar

occupying the center, the pulpit and the reading-desk being moved to the right and left respectively. This is inevitable, since now God in Christ, and not the minister, is to be at the center. Preacher and Bible step to either side, as a decree of simple propriety. Some months ago it was the writer's privilege to visit the house of one of our great Baptist churches in a neighboring city. It had just been restored after a serious fire had left little more than main walls standing. Imagine his astonishment to find that no thought nor money had been spared to rebuild, instead of an auditorium, a place of worship. Wide steps led up to a beautifully carved communion table placed at the center. Organ, choir, Bible and minister had all been asked to step aside. And yet more, this beautiful, centrally placed table bore, in addition to an appropriate cloth, a golden cross! The day of miracles is not gone when such can come to pass in a conservative Baptist church. There is power in this worship movement.

Naturally there is being produced a new literature on worship. The manifold works in the field of Christian education give ample consideration to this theme, while not a few have devoted whole volumes to its full and critical consideration in the light of our larger general knowledge. All of which gives promise of sanity and understanding in this significant sector of human behavior, wherein so often mysticism (to say nothing of ignorance) has led to strange extremes not congenial to the common lot of man.

Our contemporaneous worship movement, in its genesis, is not unlike some of the historic revivals; it has swept over the churches like a divine breath. All alike are caught up and carried forward by a strange power. Only at some later date do we pause to ask questions and to define. What is worship? What happens when we worship? Who is concerned in a given act of worship? What is the value of worship in a life? These and similar queries we put to our-

selves, and find no satisfaction until we have found sufficient answer.

Worship, in the Christian sense, is a certain attitude taken by a human being in the presence of God. Personality has the capacity to focus its powers upon some meaningful object or in the presence of some situation regarded as significant. Such a focusing is what we mean by an attitude. It is both an urge and a tendency to act, in each such case, in some characteristic manner. The attitude may be positive or negative, may move toward or away from the object or situation. Note the behavior of a fine breed of English setter dog when he comes upon a game bird on the one hand or a coiled rattler on the other. In each instance there is a decided attitude; in the one case the tone of the attitude is attraction, in the other repulsion—and the behavior is accordingly conditioned. Now when a Christian worships, the high moment is when he consciously enters the presence of God and his whole being comes to focus in view of that meeting. Characteristic behavior follows the so-called acts of worship.

The whole worship-situation is variously conditioned by what the worshiper imports thereto. He brings hither faggots, so to speak, which are to be kindled by the worship experience—but the faggots differ from individual to individual, and with the same person from time to time. For instance the whole range of ideas about God which he bears to the place of worship are positively conditioning, as are also the needs, hungers, and general culture which he brings. A certain evangelist is accustomed to greet God by slapping him on the back, and a certain over-seas "Y" secretary, during the World War, assayed to close a Christmas service by calling for "three cheers for Jesus Christ"! The response was satisfyingly meager. And why? Most had not carried to that occasion the kind of faggot which the cheer leader had brought.

Moreover the worship attitude has social reference; par-

ticularly in *public* worship. As most of our attitudes—for instance toward parents, toward work, toward policemen—are socially affected or actually conditioned, so also the attitude of worship. Children eagerly acquire for themselves the devout and reverential attitudes of earnest worshipers all about them in a quiet and dignified service of worship. And who of us is not affected in attitude by the attitudes of those around us? However desirous one may be for a genuine worship experience, finding himself in a too common type of church service, he will discover it to be impossible; the group attitude is so far from that of worship that the would-be worshiper is unable to focus his powers in the worship attitude or experience.

And we will not permit to escape us the fact that worship *is an experience.* Something of value for personality takes place within. A genuine attitude of any sort is vital, a genuine attitude of worship is significant for a life. The dominant tone of such an attitude may be rational, as when one sits to think God's thoughts after him—say, concerning the race problem—or it may be dominantly emotional, emerging as awe, or humility, or unworthiness, or joy, as the case may be; or again the dominant tone may be volitional, as when the worshiper quickly responds, " Here am I, Lord, send me." All the strands of being are likely woven into the worship attitude, the while some one or two stand out for greater strength. Most writers of our day seem to find the dominant in worship to be feeling: courtesy, reverence, celebration, rhythm, and the like. We find hesitancy in giving full agreement. It seems to us that the rational and volitional are quite as frequently in the ascendant.

Before passing on from the consideration of these matters let us note a sad fate that awaits many of man's attitudes, even the most significant of them. They have a strange tendency to become threadbare, to remain mere shell without substance, to degenerate into a pose. Here is the matter of

kneeling in prayer; this physical act may be the outward expression of a genuine and profound inner attitude of reverence and humility, or it may be a mere pose and sham. Or a clergyman officiating at a funeral service may be so affected by the situation that the tone of voice bespeaks the deeps that are stirred within him, or he may affect the tone without the appropriate feeling—that is to say, he may pose. In this fact —the possible decadence of attitudes—lies one of the most insidious temptations that haunts the steps of the religious man, not least of all the minister of religion.

The study of the history of religions throws an interesting light upon the worship attitude and behavior. Without exception—I think we are able to say—the religions of the world have developed first as a cultus, and only later as a philosophy and an ethic. They have first developed certain practises for specific times and definite places, and at a later date have begun to seek the rationale therefor. However elaborate the acts and ceremonies within the cultus, they are essentially acts and ceremonies of worship. The devotee is attempting thereby to appease or appropriate the gods or God, to forestall the divine disfavor, or to get for oneself the divine wisdom, or strength, or courage, or immortality, or what not. That is, cultus grows up about worship as the center.

Now, we are not prepared to say just how much truth there is in that theory which holds the individual to repeat in himself the total racial development, but it is undeniable that it is sound pedagogy to lead the child first to worship God, first to acquire and enrich the worship attitude, and later to grow his theology and his code of conduct. With " Opening Exercises " in most of our church schools, instead of " periods of worship," it is little wonder that most of our people in non-liturgical churches know little about worship. Have we not often tithed our theologies, and sometimes our codes of right conduct, but left undone the weightier matter of worship?

For how can one be fed by theology and ethic who has not met God in worship?

Using the analogy of the camera, one might say that the exposure of a soul to God is worship. To achieve this is the highest purpose of the church. Her task is to inspire, nurture, and enrich the soul, or personality, until the "exposure" is comparable to that of the highly sensitized plate. To this end the worship attitude must be given the finest possible content in terms of the rational, the emotional, and the volitional. And of course it goes without argument that there is "Something There" waiting to be photographed, photographed in such fashion that the exposed will learn to think God's thoughts, feel God's kind of emotions, and go forth to such conduct as will merit God's approval.

To achieve this God-motivated life is the superlative task of the Christian church, public worship being one of her chiefest ways for such achievement. Therefore the specific task of a service of public worship is so to environ and condition the people that the worship attitude will result. There must be created an "atmosphere of worship" in which they are greatly assisted in their united quest for God and communion with him in terms of worship.

Highly desirable therefore are surroundings of the beautiful—for the religious and æsthetic attitudes are closely akin—in appointments of the place of worship. We may not say that people cannot worship God in cold and barren surroundings, but we ought to say that they do so with the greater difficulty. Ugliness is an obstacle to be overcome, and is never an aid. They are wise who make rich their house of worship by the best in architecture, by beautiful furnishings, by stained-glass windows, and by a silence that cries, "Lift up thy heart, oh man!" Moreover they see to it that as the people enter that they are immersed in sweet and noble music, and are quietly and reverently shown to their pews by ushers with understanding hearts. From the time the people enter until they

leave nothing is left to chance. All is done with order, nicety, and dignity; there are no loose ends anywhere to disturb or distract those who here seek God.

And this is precisely the place and function of a liturgy; it insures that all will be done in good order, with understanding, and with the maximum of aid to the worshipers. A given liturgy may be likened to a trellis by means of which souls ascend, or an altar-stair by which they climb into the divine presence, there pausing in the attitude and act of worship. Any liturgy or order of service which genuinely assists as indicated is a good liturgy. It is bad only when it clutters up the way along which the worshipers must advance, and particularly is it bad when it actually encourages, instead of genuineness in quest and reality in worship, wholesale posing on the part of the people.

Long experience approves music as one of the finest aids in worship; it creates the worship atmosphere as does no other, unless it be silence. Such must be good music, of course, such as will arouse the noblest and best in the worshiper. Its beauty, harmony, and suggestiveness have remarkable power to lift up the human spirit, to set the whole personality aglow and ready for the high adventure of worship. Such music may be instrumental or vocal, and in the latter case either by choir or the general assembly of worshipers—the one essential is that it be such as will call forth the mood of worship.

Scripture selections and prayers find their way, with peculiar propriety and effectiveness, into every liturgy. Each serves to canalize the inner movements of the personality toward the worship attitude. In the one the voice of God may be heard and in the other a devout soul talking to him. Peculiarly significant in this connection is the pastoral prayer. Primarily this is not the prayer of the minister; rather it is the prayer of the people which he has the high privilege of voicing. Standing among his worshiping folk he addresses

God on his own, and especially their behalf. In the best sense he is here the priest. This prayer makes demands upon the understanding minister made by no other liturgical act. It calls for his noblest bearing, finest thought, choicest language, and deepest emotion. He is sifting their desires, moreover, and expressing only those which he deems worthy of the Divine ear.

There are those who would expurgate the free-will offering from the worship liturgy. On the contrary, we hold it to be of most high value to a worshiping people. Let us suppose they have arrived, with bowed heads and humbled hearts; by ascending on their knees the altar-stairs, they have come into the felt presence of God. What is more befitting that moment, what more indigenous to the worship attitude than that each should offer a gift? Such a gift is symbol of the given and dedicated life. To find oneself there without a gift is more tragic than to be found at the wedding feast "not having a wedding garment." Thus conceived the offering is a necessary equipment for the worship journey.

By contrast, most announcements cannot be integrated as a meaningful part of the order of service or liturgy. They simply have no place in such. By illustration, let us recall the electric moment above described and imagine, if we can, some one arising to announce a pork-and-bean supper at some near date. Granted this is an extreme case (though not an unusual one) it is difficult to imagine any announcement which will not be a distraction, when by all that is fair what is needed is concentration of the closest kind.

Because of the strong movement toward worship in our churches, some, fearing for the pulpit, have come to the rescue of the sermon. Such, it seems to us is gratuitous. True worship can never interfere with great preaching; it can and does greatly enhance its effectiveness. Worship plows and prepares the soil to which the preacher comes as sower—to be sure he must have something worth sowing! A people who

have seen, or felt, or sensed the presence of God will be content with neither empty oratory nor pious drivel. They have been aroused and stand in need of food for mind and spirit; and happy is the man who can then break unto their needs the bread of life. And we shall call him the great preacher.

If there is any one who has cause to be alarmed about this new worship emphasis it is the social reformer who is depending upon the churches to drive his reforms across the goal line. He fears that folk will come to a beautiful service of worship, have the æsthetic candles of life lighted, then go home to call it a day's work. Historically that is just what has happened again and again. Highly liturgical churches have not been celebrated for social passion. Few prophets have arisen from their ranks, and these have invariably received the proverbial prophet's reward. Nevertheless we hold these sad results far from inevitable. There is surely no cause and effect relationship existing between a worshiping people and a do-nothing attitude toward social evil. As a matter of fact these are the very people in whom we expect to find our noblest and sanest social passion.

Where there has been a sag or breakdown between worship and social action there is a reason. We believe there to be two such reasons, and they are not far to seek. In the first place, where this vital tie between the inspired life and the cleansing deed has disappeared, almost universally there has come to be an over emphasis on liturgy. So as a matter of fact the people have not really worshiped, they have merely gone through the paces of the ritual. And in the second place, wherever worship has failed to bear fruit in worthy deeds, preaching is far from glorious. In other words, souls made sensitive by an actual worship experience have gone away uninspired and uninstructed as to what God expects of them. What we would urge therefore as preventive of the malady of social lethargy and inaction is a liturgy maintained at the threshold of the vital and dynamic, and a pulpit with

refined, social passion. Attain these and the churches will have sufficient power to regenerate society and drive on toward that social state we idealize as the kingdom of heaven.

Of course the worship movement seals the doom of a certain type of minister. The noisy, roisterous, bombastic man "who loveth preeminence in all things" and hence is happy only when he occupies the center of the stage, for such a man there is no place in a service of worship. The place at the center is reserved for God, or for Christ the Son whose table and cross symbolize the Presence. Here the minister must step aside. Modesty and humility are his only befitting garb.

That we have had consummate egotists in our Protestant pulpits is not to be wondered at; the marvel is that we have had so few! The whole set-up is superbly apt in fattening egotism. To put a mere man at the center, give him an infallible Book, and teach him to be its infallible interpreter, and he will need divine aid to keep within gun-shot of a decent modesty! He so easily may become a man who plays God, or at any rate one who speaks as though he were the Almighty. Such a man is said to have "a positive message"—which seems to be a fair statement of fact.

For this sort of pernicious malady our Baptist tenet that each man is his own priest and interpreter has been, for the most part, a sufficient corrective and cure. We can think of only one that is more certainly effective, namely, for a man to come to think of *himself as a worshiper* with a group of worshipers whom he would lead into the presence of God. Any tendency to strut thereupon meets a speedy crucifixion; for men do not strut in the presence of the Eternal. One finds himself desiring to be clothed in the garment of a becoming humility, a desire which frequently can be satisfied only when such a garment finds symbol in appropriate vestment. An increasing use of the pulpit gown is to be expected as

indigenous to the worship movement. We should be disturbed were this not the case.

It is not by accident that liturgical churches, by which we mean those who hold a primary emphasis on worship, are invariably rich in symbolism. Worship always appropriates significant symbols. Why? Because, as Goethe said, "The highest cannot be spoken." It may be symbolized however; hence worship which attempts the highest lays under tribute every symbol which may aid the worshiper in his superlative adventure. Take for illustration the bread and wine in the Supper, they are symbols which say things to people which words cannot convey; or again the cross, it speaks a message which even the most learned treatise is wholly unable to deliver. Christianity is exceedingly rich in its symbols. What right have we not to make our people familiar with them and appreciative of the messages, in terms of "the highest," which they proclaim?

Bracketed with symbolism as an aid to the worshiper is great religious art, i. e., art which has something to say about "the highest" in religion. Consequently the contemporaneous worship movement is bringing into the place of worship, in one form or another, the masterpieces of Christian art. So important do we feel this phase of the development to be that our Seminary offers an elective course on "The Use of Art in the Ministry of the Church."

For final consideration we have reserved the evaluation of public worship as an educative force. If worship be as dynamic in a life as we have indicated, and if Christian education be the guidance of a growing life toward Jesus and his manner of living, then we may surmise the possible value of so dynamic a force in directing human growth. Nothing stands out more clearly than the fact that the place of worship was the source of the Master's power; and it was doubtless the guide of his youth. Here it was that he was inspired to think the Father's thoughts after him, to attune his own

feelings to those of the Divine, and to seek God's will above every other good. If this be true in his case, as few will care to deny, ought it not be measurably true in the lives of us all? If so, how almost criminally slow we have been—and are—in stressing worship in all the educative process of the church. To *tell* our young about God has virtue, but to *introduce* them to him and lead them to grow the worship attitude is infinitely better. And in this connection let us be reminded of a fact to which we early called attention, namely, that cultus always precedes theology and ethics, that men first worship and then later create a philosophy in explanation and build a fitting course of conduct. Should not our Christian education root itself, therefore, in the religious attitudes, and notably the worship attitude of the child?

Aside from the educative significance of worship as such, note what a cargo of worth, gold for enriching and adorning the Christian life is drawn in its train—music, noble and good; art, rich and priceless; symbolism, laden with ageless treasure; poetry, gems from sixty generations; prayers, refined aspirations of the race, and architecture, lifting the soul to heaven.

The Church and Public Worship—hers is the challenging and rewarding task of culturing the lives of our kind until we become sons and daughters of God, exemplars of Christ in some genuine sense. Religion is the instrument with which she toils, and worship is its magnetic core, giving spirit and power to the whole.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

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THE reality of religion and therefore of *religious* education has been called in question. There is confusion and even skepticism as to the objectives and function of religious education. The reason for this situation is obvious. The intellectual revolution through which we have been passing has overshadowed and minimized the importance of religion. Science has been in the ascendency and has demanded radical intellectual changes all along the line, not excepting religion, which has sponsored an ideology of a pre-scientific period. It has been the more severe upon religion just because the scientific movement has been primarily intellectual and to a large extent has interpreted all phenomena in terms of intellectual criteria. Religion, on the other hand, has been more concerned with values and cosmic outlook than with facts, although it has by no means entirely neglected the search for truth.

But in so far as the scientific movement has affected religion on the intellectual plane, it has unfortunately been of a more or less negative character. It has in effect undermined the traditional, intellectual foundation of religion. However, this has been no fault of science, nor has it been without permanent benefit to religion. For the time being, of course, it has seemed actually to injure and weaken the cause of religion. The truth is, Christianity, for example, was compelled to express itself especially in the formative and pre-scientific period of its history, in the thought molds and intellectual concepts current in that time. And since Christianity was not primarily interested in intellectual matters, such ideology tended to persist even after it had been completely repudiated by science.

Now as a matter of fact the modern era has been to a

very large extent produced by the radical changes effected by science. It has been nothing short of a revolution. And such a sweeping movement would normally require religion, also, to make some very radical intellectual adjustments.

On the contrary, religion (or rather organized religion) has waged a defensive warfare against these radical changes demanded by science, and when religion has yielded it has been only after a long drawn out battle. In consequence, such procedure has been widely interpreted as a weakness of religion rather than of the procedure itself and its representatives. In the eyes of many, therefore, religion has been discredited. And to further reduce the prestige of religion, science has encroached upon certain long recognized areas of religion, and in occupying such territory has seemed to supplant religion itself.

But it is now becoming increasingly clear that religion is not in conflict with science at any point, that each has a distinct field and function and that the intellectual framework of religion can be changed without any inherent damage to religion. After all, religion must be judged in the light of its own function and contribution to life. If it has peered in the wrong direction, it has only to change its course; if it has been in error in its intellectual presuppositions, it has only to rectify them—and proceed on its historic mission. Underlying all these intellectual difficulties are the fundamental needs which religion and only religion can supply.

To be sure, what the final status of religious education will be, as the result of the scientific movement, it is too early to forecast. But it is already clear from the present trend of philosophy and science that instead of religion being wholly discredited and rendered unnecessary, it will be considered absolutely essential to the building of the new world of tomorrow. In any case it may now be said that religion has survived the impact of science.

What religion now needs is constructive and positive

emphasis upon its functional and distinctive aspects. But before proceeding farther with this, let us first see what relation religious education sustains to education in general, and if there is a definite place for religious education in the whole scheme of education.

Education and Religious Education

Education is a process of growth and continuous reconstruction of experience in the direction of the highest values of life. Religious education is one important phase of this whole process, with a specific trend and outcome of its own—the goal of the entire educational process being the complete integration of personality in terms of the whole world process. This final goal is in effect religious, because it represents the highest human attainment. Furthermore, there is nothing in the objectives of education which conflicts with the specific objective of religious education. They differ only in their distinctiveness. To put it in another way, religious education is education in religion.

But of course the question immediately arises, What is religion? Unless we can be fairly clear at this point the whole program of religious education must necessarily be ill-advised, at the very beginning. Therefore what part of the "reconstruction" process of education does religious education represent? What is the function of religious education? What are its objectives? What method (or methods) shall it use to accomplish its purpose? It is the purpose of this paper to suggest tentative answers to the above questions.

The Definition of Religion

At the outset we must recognize the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of giving a satisfactory definition of religion, at least in a normative sense. The very multiplicity of definitions already presented is evidence enough of this fact. At the same time this seeming impossibility must not be urged

against the reality of religion or religious experience. Science has the same difficulty with certain of its phenomena; for example, electricity; but no one doubts the latter's existence. So too from the standpoint of the history of religion and of religious experience the reality of religion is abundantly evident. The truth is, people have been and are religious. In fact a survey of religious literature, religious institutions, rituals and ceremonials, not to mention the manifold ways the activity of men has been modified by religion, ought to convince anyone that religion has been one of the most positive and determining factors in the history of mankind.

Perhaps a more satisfactory approach, then, to a definition of religion would be from the standpoint of what religion does, and effects in the lives of people. Let the search for a scientific definition continue, but in the meantime let us set up a program of religious education based upon what religion has meant to people in the past, how it served their needs and what must be expected of it today.

Parenthetically it should be said that religion never has meant the same thing to every individual. Religious experiences vary as experience in general varies. Much depends upon the intellectual capacity and cultural background of the particular individual. Religious education must not attempt to standardize its instruction or predetermine its outcomes for all types of individuals. Too many churches are at present trying to serve a predominantly intellectualistic variety of religious diet to people who have little or no interest in that direction, and less capacity for it. *Religious education must serve the religious needs of the people on the plane on which they live.* The fact that a group of people are all adherents of a common faith does not mean that they all respond in the same way or find the same value or satisfactions in that religion. Such variety, for example, may range all the way from a Roman Catholic interpretation and practise of Christianity to that of a Quaker.

We are emphasizing these matters to show the necessity of adapting a program of religious education to the varying religious needs of individuals. Religion is functional and must serve a functional need. The purpose of religious education is to provide for religious growth. And if growth, we must begin with the religious needs of the individuals to be served.

Coming now to a consideration of a description of religion, we must avoid a non-functional or theological view of religion such as was promulgated by the churches during the Middle Ages and which excluded religion from a vast area of experience which was designated as the realm of the secular. It made religion unreal and other-worldly. On the other hand, we must not advocate such an inclusive view of religion as will lose sight of its distinctiveness. In what follows we shall endeavor to describe a few of the main currents of religious experience as a working criterion and basis of setting up a program of religious education.

From the testimony of history and experience we may assert, first, that *religion is an awareness of one's superhuman possibilities in relation to the world and society.* Ceremonials and religious festivals built around natural phenomena are illustrative of this sort of religious experience. Mankind must have quite early recognized its dependence upon the whole cosmic process as fundamentally beyond human control. Much of history is nothing more than a record of man's effort to come into proper and helpful relation with this Process, no matter how it may have been conceived or designated. And this dependence continues today. Man of himself can accomplish nothing; even his mind and language are made possible by a process beyond his control. Only through participation in the social processes is civilization advanced. But the Process itself is quite beyond man's power; it is only for him to accept and participate.

In fact, man is more fully dependent upon the superhuman

aspects of his environment than heretofore for the reason that he has become a more intricate part of the whole world process and is consequently more affected by its operation. Closer integration and interdependence continue as the world process continues. There was a time when an event in a remote corner of the world had little consequence for the rest of the world. Not so now; whether we like it or not, the world has become a neighborhood.

True, man is no longer an infant crying in the night in utter fear and helplessness of the mysterious powers which seemed to overwhelm him. He has learned to understand nature's ways and to depend on her regularity and to cooperate with her processes. Salvation and fulness of life have been found to lay in this direction. Thus one of the important factors in primitive religion, fear, has been passing and in its place is coming a feeling of reverence and gratitude for the superhuman possibilities of man's relation to the Something More in the world.

Second, *religion is man's endeavor to come into personal relationship with the unseen Reality of the universe.* The highest form of such effort and the heart of religion is worship. But here again the content of this experience varies greatly, depending on the circumstances and the emotional and cultural background of the individual. Wordsworth found this relationship in communion with nature, Comte in his passion for humanity, while Jesus was deeply conscious of the abiding presence of a transcendent and personal Father-God.

We are prone to overlook this personal religious experience of Jesus, perhaps because the New Testament gives fuller expression to the more objective aspects of his activity and teaching. But the underlying consciousness of Jesus' superhuman relationship with his Father-God is unmistakable. Jesus' every word and deed breathes the warmth and vitality of this experience.

Men may live without a clearly defined *conception* of God, even without any conception at all. But the consciousness of *relationship* to some Power or Process bigger than one's self which underlies all change and development is universal on the human level. So far as we know man has always taken this relationship seriously and endeavored to make it effective in the business of living. Of course the manner and technique of this relationship have changed in the succeeding stages of man's intellectual and cultural development. But the effort to come into friendly and harmonious relationship with the Determiner of Destiny has continued. In this direction men have found security, salvation and more abundant living. In other words, every sincere effort to come into friendly relation with the Process of the world has resulted in the enrichment of life. Religion is simply an effort to penetrate to the depth of Reality and adjust human life to it.

Finally, *religion in its highest and most genuine manifestation is always identified with a vigorous ethical endeavor.* In fact this is a test of the genuineness and sincerity of religious experience. When the attitude of fear toward deity gave way to one of reverence and gratitude, religion became primarily a search for the kind of life which was thought well-pleasing to the deity and in harmony with his righteous will. Consequently a feeling of personal sin arose and with it a corresponding feeling of ethical responsibility. This has become the greatest function of religion. So there is nothing strange in the fact that the greatest prophets of religion have also been the world's greatest moral leaders. In fact it is very doubtful whether the struggle for a redeemed world will continue with success without the aid of religion, for it is religion above everything else that has the power to fire the imagination and stir the enthusiasm for personal and social righteousness.

The Objectives of Religious Education

From the above survey of the nature of religion, it follows that the business and task of religious education is to stimulate and direct such religious experiences as will engender growth along the lines therein set forth. From the standpoint of teaching there are three kinds of learning outcomes, namely, values, attitudes or ideals, understandings, and abilities or skills. We shall discuss the objectives of religious education in terms of these outcomes of all learning. There is no significance in the order in which they are discussed. Neither is a distinction drawn between the objectives and the processes of religious education; they are identical and are therefore discussed together.

Values, Attitudes, Ideals

First is the evaluation outcome. Religion has long been identified with values and ideals. (However, religion is not to be identified with the whole evaluation process and the corresponding outcomes of all learning, but is rather to be limited to that phase of the general process which eventuates in religious values. What these religious values are will be discussed a little later.) We may define, then, the religious phase of the evaluation process as the search for, selection and utilization of religious values.

The process of developing religious values is primarily a matter of emotionalization. (Of course religious values do not emerge independently of the whole learning process, nor without cognitive direction. We must never lose sight of the fact that learning is synthetic and "holistic," involving the entire organism. But we are dealing here with only one phase of the learning process.) It is one thing to perceive a fact but quite another to become interested in it and appreciate its worth. To evaluate a fact is to take another step in reacting to it and make it a personal possession. And to

take this additional step is to emotionalize the products of learning and thus make them a permanent part of behavior. In this way ideas become ideals, acquaintance friendship, attachment loyalty—and all become permanent controls of conduct.

Jesus utilized this phase of teaching. "Whom do men say that I am?" He sought whole-hearted allegiance to his movement and this was not possible unless his followers appreciated its worth and significance. The subsequent faith which the second-century Christians developed in Jesus is illustrated by the Gospel of John. The whole Gospel may be said to be a confession in Jesus as the divine Son of God. It is summed up in 1:34: "And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God."

This is the evaluation process of religion: to appreciate worth and to act in accordance with it. This is why the creation of values, ideals and attitudes is an end and a process of religious education.

But now what is the nature of "religious values" and how shall religious education develop them?

First is the evaluation of the cosmic significance of human life. It is clear that the New Testament interprets human life as being essentially cosmic and superhuman. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven. . ." "Is not life more than food, and the body more than raiment?" The New Testament goes on further to represent man as the special object of God's mercy and care. It was Jesus' way of saying that personality is the most precious value in the world. In fact modern education, in a slightly different way, says precisely the same thing.

But religion goes farther, as the New Testament goes farther, and directly links the inestimable value of the soul with a cosmic way of salvation and immortality. In fact if

we trace these doctrines back beyond the New Testament period we discover that it was not until toward the close of the Old Testament period that we find them beginning to emerge. The supreme worth of the individual had first to be recognized before a way of personal salvation could be provided. At least that was the order of the process.

The above illustration is cited to show how religion does interpret life, how religious values emerge and the way religious education may add to the enrichment and direction of life. It will also serve to indicate the possibility of similar religious evaluations of modern life. Every generation needs to be reminded of the religious values the race has found indispensable and the need of the creation of new values for the changed and changing circumstances of contemporary life. For without cosmic values life is empty and without dynamic significance. Besides, the cosmic view will buttress every effort to achieve the highest and best for society. It is the best insurance against the breakdown of the whole human experiment.

A second religious value, to be sponsored by religious education, is an appreciation of the superhuman character of the fundamental processes of nature and life. Back of matter, life and mind is a Process, perhaps *the* Process out of which everything develops. No matter what we may choose to call it—God, Energy, or simply Cosmic Process—it *is* fundamental and determining. Science has unlimited possibilities, but it is doubtful if it will ever penetrate very far into the mystery of this underlying Reality. Certainly it must be accepted as a fact and should be given full recognition both by science and religion. But it is religion's distinctive honor to evaluate this fundamental reality of the world and project its significance into human living.

What we have said is that underlying all the processes of the world is a Creative Process. Man may plant and cultivate but only God can give the increase. This applies not only

to phenomena which have hitherto been regarded as supernatural, but also to the "human" and "natural" processes which a proud race is supposed to have conquered. There is just as much of the miraculous or superhuman element in the creation of friendship as in the growing of an oak-tree or the eclipse of the sun. They are all beyond the power of men. Of ourselves we can do nothing.

The modern age has lost its perspective and proper appreciation of the cosmic support which underlies man's widely heralded scientific achievements. Science has indeed become the Messiah of this age. In the meantime religion has failed in its most significant task of presenting to the modern world in an effective manner this cosmic perspective as one of the chief religious values.

A third religious value is the consciousness of the wholeness and inner relationship of the world. The world is not complete without every part and every part is necessary to the whole. The world is an organism. Moreover, further development means closer integration and interdependence. And such increasing interdependence is being widely recognized in the social and economic world-organism. But the interdependence extends also to the world of matter and nature. We are an integral part of a vast system from the lowly atom to the cosmic Whole. Existence is but an event in this cosmic stream of progress. As Whitehead has so well said, "Science is taking on a new aspect which is neither purely physical nor purely biological. It is becoming the study of organisms. Biology is the study of the larger organisms; whereas physics is the study of the smaller organisms."

There are tremendous religious possibilities in this larger view of the world. The dualistic conception of the world produced an esoteric and more or less formal religion. But religion is concerned with the whole of life and the whole panorama of existence. Religious living means living in the

consciousness of participating in the whole cosmic drama. This feeling and consciousness is a religious value.

A fourth religious value is the consciousness of loyalty to the concerted endeavor of kindred souls to advance the good life. What higher satisfaction can a man enjoy than the realization he is giving his life to the ultimate good of the world. Such a religious value and outlook on life enlarges one's horizon and identifies his effort with the hopes and aspirations of men everywhere. Thus to lose one's life in a common endeavor is to find it in a larger life reincarnated in the ideals and moral standards of a higher social order.

The above values are intended to indicate the distinctive character of religious values as well as the objectives of religious education.

Religious Understandings

The second major teaching objective of religious education is in the nature of religious understandings and ideas. To live religiously requires an intelligent understanding of the issues and problems involved. Without light and learning religion lacks imagination and direction to fulfil its proper function. Piety and clear thinking go hand in hand. It is a great mistake to suppose that religion is not interested and does not profit from clear and vigorous thinking. Social-mindedness and religious zeal will accomplish little without an intelligent understanding of what religion is intended to accomplish and the problems it must face. Zeal without knowledge makes religion the opium of the people.

What then are the major intellectual objectives of religious education? *First, perhaps, is an understanding of the nature and purpose of religion itself.* What does it mean to be religious? What are the objectives of religion? What is the relation of religious living to symbolic representations of religion? What is religious growth?

Similar questions should be raised about the Christian religion. What is its genius, its objectives, its program? What was Jesus' relation to the Christian movement and what were his contributions? What is the program of Christianity today? Unless religious education can provide satisfactory answers to the above questions and help people to think them through, the Christian movement will never develop the potency and influence necessary to reconstruct contemporary life in accordance with Christian principles.

Another religious concept which needs to be clarified through religious teaching is the concept of God. What or who is God? We need to know him as a living reality in and of the world. But most of all, we must know God in order to relate ourselves to him and participate with him in the ultimate redemption of the world.

Above all, religious education must seek to understand the social objectives of religion and formulate a program of religion which will function in terms of present needs and situations. Religion can never be effective if the center of gravity is not placed within the life of the world and at the points of stress and strain. To be religious in the highest sense one must be geared to the issues of contemporary life.

Neither must religious education exclude the wisdom and teaching of the Christian Bible. The Bible is a storehouse of inspiration and light. It can be made available and effectively to contribute to the program of religion today. But it must be understood. It is an ancient book, a product of an Oriental culture and religion. To be properly and effectively used requires considerable study and an adequate technique. Both the method and a scientific body of knowledge developed over a period of one hundred years of careful and diligent study of the Bible is at hand. It is for religious education to make use of these findings and make them available to a larger group of people.

Religious Skills and Abilities

The third major objective of religious education is that of providing skill and practise in religious living. We may call this laboratory work, according to the practise in other fields of learning. But no matter what this necessary emphasis in education is called, we must recognize that permanent improvement in religious living will not result unless some way is found for systematic training in those functions which religious living involves. Religious education must present a comprehensive program of *training* as well as of *instruction* in the method and regimen of religion in which the fundamental skills shall be mastered and made a matter of habit. Only by guidance and systematic practise can we learn to utilize in an effective way our religious resources. *We need specific abilities.*

Now specific abilities must not be confused with general abilities or controls of conduct. Nor do we mean that the formation of specific abilities shall in any way preclude the development of new abilities when and where needed. In fact one might almost say that the purpose of making abilities automatic was to make possible thereby a continuous process of developing new skills. Creative religious living is only possible on the basis of well formed religious skills.

What skills belong to religious living? Perhaps the most important is ability of effective worship. Only training and practise can produce this ability because it involves specific skills and procedures. To expect results from an individual's effort to worship without previous training is the same as expecting an individual to become a chemist by listening to lectures and reading books about chemistry. It is notorious that a Protestant does not know how to worship. This defect ought to be rectified.

Another is the habit and ability of thinking through religious problems. Scientific method has been sufficiently

used in the field of religion to demonstrate its worth and contribution both to organized and personal religious life. In fact religion has already greatly profited by its use. On the other hand, the Christian church has lost tremendously by its attitude of timidity and hostility toward scientific method. To be successful every organization must have a clearly conceived program, a systematic method of operation, and a common understanding on the part of the membership of this program and method by which it is to be carried through. Such common understanding of the issues and problems of religion, made possible by the practise of the problematic attitude, is more important than the much desired organic union of the sects. Actual cooperation is best cultivated by training in an intelligent and scientific approach to the problems of religion.

A similar ability in the practise of the problematic approach applies to one's own personal religious experience. Religious education should aim to cultivate the habit of constant reexamination of one's beliefs in the light of new facts and changing conditions. It should fix the habit of holding all beliefs tentatively and subject to change when careful consideration demands such change. Such practise of reconstructing the intellectual basis of personal belief and conviction will go far in insuring the reality and genuineness of religion.

The final religious skill, which we shall mention, is the application of the cosmic point of view to all the problems of life. We shall call this cosmic-mindedness. In this respect religion is similar to philosophy in its endeavor to see life steadily and see it whole. Science insists on being analytic but philosophy and religion are synthetic in their method. But in addition religion is tremendously interested in personal adjustment to the whole cosmic process of the world. Thus religion views all problems in terms of cosmic outlook. The kingdom of God knows no race, color or nationality—all are

children of one Father and members of one universal brotherhood.

Religion's approach to life's tasks and responsibilities is preparative and cumulative; nothing is final or finished. It is forever looking beyond the horizon and seeking the realization of the ideals and aspirations of mankind. Such an outlook and hope raises human living to the lofty plane of service and sacrifice.

It should be the purpose of religious education to establish cosmic-mindedness as an objective habit, operating over the whole range of human experience. The Sermon on the Mount is an exposition of what we mean by cosmic-mindedness. " Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust consume. . ." " Love your enemies. . ." " Be not anxious for your life. . ." In other words, be cosmic-minded. It is in this direction that mankind must seek its highest development both for the individual and society. To contribute toward this end is the task of religious education.

"IF THOU ART THE SON OF GOD"

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THE earliest account of the temptation of Jesus is recorded in Mark 1: 12, 13, as follows: "And straightway the Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness. And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him." This brief account tells nothing of his fasting, nor does it reveal anything of the nature of the temptation endured. It is a bare statement of fact, from the view-point of an observer, who manifested little interest or had but little information with respect to the moral aspects of the event which he records. Perhaps this is all that was ever actually known of what happened to Jesus during the period of forty days, if the chronology is correct, from his baptism in Judea to his reappearance in Galilee as a preacher of the gospel. Even John, to whom we do not look for historical or chronological verities, records nothing of this most important period. For him, the ministry follows at once upon the baptism.

Matthew 4: 1-11 and Luke 4: 1-13 add three distinct items to the account furnished by Mark, which are not related in the same order, although the language in which they are expressed is closely parallel. Both place the temptation to turn stones into bread, first. Then Matthew introduces the temptation for Jesus to cast himself down from the temple pinnacle, followed by the visit to the high mountain and the suggestion that Jesus worship Satan in order to obtain authority over the whole world. With respect to these last two incidents, Luke reverses the order but fails to conclude his account with the item concerning ministering angels, which both Mark and Matthew record.

The moment of temptation, according to Matthew and

Luke, came at the end of forty days of fasting. What may have transpired during the greater part of the period is left unsaid. From these two reports it would appear that the temptation arose as the result of bodily hunger, i. e., that it had a physiological background. It was an invitation to break a fast which had already existed for forty days, a fast which was broken soon after the incident recorded, if we may assume that Jesus' reappearance in Galilee marked the conclusion of this period and the resumption of normal living once more. As to the possibilities of Jesus surviving a forty-day fast, we are not particularly concerned here. The fast may have been absolute or partial, such as one would naturally endure when he left the comforts of civilization to roam in the wilderness. But even then the wilderness was probably not entirely barren of sustenance, for John spent years roaming its quiet places, as many doubtless did before and have done since. It is insignificant whether Jesus ate little or nothing. The crux of the situation is precipitated, according to these accounts, by the consciousness that he was hungry.

A consciousness of hunger is specifically a subjective note. Even if Jesus had been accompanied by others, his hunger may have been surmised but could never have been known to them, unless communicated by the Master. Hunger is a powerful elemental instinct, provided primarily for the preservation of the individual. The manner in which the devil suggested that this hunger be satisfied, appears to have provoked the first temptation incident.

Something might be said at this point as to whether the consciousness of hunger preceded or followed the temptation, as a matter of fact. As the story is recorded, the first temptation is said to arise directly from the hunger. A fasting experience in keeping with the character of Jesus could readily develop as a secondary state. That is, he would be so completely and earnestly involved in the solution of spiri-

tual problems that he would neglect bodily needs, he would give little heed to bodily sensations, and perhaps have little desire for food. This is common to all human experience. Such a condition would prevail until the spiritual problems had been brought out of chaos into a semblance or promise of unity. When hunger pangs were able to gain the center of consciousness, it would indicate a solution of mental difficulties, or at least a peace of mind that attended the cessation of imperious psychological demands. When the hunger for food transcended the hunger for God, the crux of the struggle had already passed.

It would have been impossible for companions to surmise the detailed dialogue of this moment, between Jesus and the tempter. The nature of the event and its various details is marvelously in keeping with what we would expect of Jesus nevertheless. Is it the gist of a report that Jesus made of the experience, or is it a series of details accurately filled in, in true character, after the life has fulfilled its mission? Is it history or philosophy?

There are two other personalities noted in all three accounts of the temptation story which play important rôles and influence the final outcome of the experience; the first is the Spirit and the second is the tempter, devil or Satan, as he is variously recorded. Mark 1: 12 reports, "The Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness." Matthew 4: 1 says, "Then Jesus was led up 'of' the Spirit into the wilderness." Luke 4: 1 reads, "And Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan, and was led 'in' the Spirit in the wilderness." Further in the same connection, Matthew says, "to be tempted of the devil"; Mark says, "He was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan"; Luke records, "in the wilderness forty days 'being' tempted of the devil."

For the moment we have turned back from the solid ground afforded by bodily pangs of hunger, though the pangs themselves are psychic, to recognize that when we speak of

spirits and devils we are wandering in the ideational world of that particular period of history. Jesus later taught the people that God was spirit, the triumphant spirit, and yet this record, which is subsequent to his labors, gives a concreteness and objectivity to the devil, that nowhere in this connection appears in equal personal force and vividness with respect to the Spirit.

All three records represent the leadership of the Spirit; Mark reporting a strong element of coercion or compulsion, i. e., "The spirit driveth him forth," while Matthew introduces a purposive or causal note suggesting that, "Jesus was led up of the spirit . . . to be tempted of the devil." Such a conception leaves little room for the personality of Jesus. He seems to be the passive intermediary upon whom first one and then another extraneous force exerts its pressure. The passivity of Jesus is notably apparent. He lacks that uniqueness and originality so readily recognized by his contemporaries on other occasions.

The whole story, covering forty days of the most critical period in his career possibly, records but three remarks from the lips of Jesus. Even these are not in the fervid, authoritative tone of his accustomed manner, but are rather quotations from the scriptures. He speaks only in rejecting the suggestions of the tempter. His first response is a quotation in part from Deuteronomy 8: 3, "Man doth not live by bread only, but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah, doth man live." The devil also quotes from Psalm 91: 11, 12, "For he will give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone." Jesus' second reply is quoted from Deuteronomy 6: 16 in part, "Ye shall not tempt Jehovah your God": and his third response is part of Deuteronomy 6: 13, "Thou shalt fear Jehovah thy God; and him shalt thou serve, and shalt swear by his name."

It is not to be presumed that Jesus could not have made use of scriptural quotations to answer the tempter, but since this is all that is reported of his conversation, or perhaps more properly his subjective state during forty days, it does raise the question as to how completely his mind has been revealed in the record covering this period. He speaks no word of authority, no cry of anguish from the depths of a soul in the birth-throes of subsequent Messiahship. Though he was led of the Spirit into the wilderness, once there, he seems to be alone and defenseless, contending with the devil. There is no mention of the intimacy with the Father, no continuation of the blessed assurance that appeared at his baptism. God appears only in quotations and not as an energizing spiritual person. The devil is preeminent.

Spirit and devil, both reflect the psychological and religious background of the period. That such an experience should occur to Jesus at this time, is as rational as the remainder of his life, but the records, like the nativity stories, are probably secondary developments, i. e., they take their form and color from subsequent happenings. After his baptism, which we may assume represented the earliest climax or concrete culmination of his religious development, still further possibilities presented themselves to him for consideration. If we may take a cue from the question raised by the "devil" without doing injury to our assumption, the problem which first appeared to Jesus was the *possibility* of his sonship. "*If* thou art the Son of God," said the "devil." This psychological attitude is possible for Jesus regardless of the existence or non-existence of an objective devil. It is to be recalled that no such problem is presented in John's Gospel.

Was the Spirit that drove or led Jesus into the wilderness external to his being, or part of it? Was the devil with whom he conversed an objective reality, a hallucination, or a spiritual validity equivalent to that of the spirit?

The world of Jesus' day was filled with spirits and demons, most of them of a malignant type. They could take possession of the body of an individual, yet with proper procedure they could be "cast out," externalized. There need be little doubt but that these spirits in many instances were objectified by hallucination. Why the good spirits should have been so few and the evil ones so numerous and powerful, does not readily appear, except it be that humanity is prone to overlook its benefits and magnify its ills.

By what sense other than that known to us, did Jesus apprehend the Spirit that led him unto the wilderness? How do we perceive spiritual guidance? If we move consciously and with volition, it can only be as the result of rational (mental) processes. Visions, dreams, ideas, according to the nature of their content, were once assumed to take their rise outside of the individual. That is to say, the recipient of the dream, vision or prophetic idea, could trace no connection between this event and his past, could give it no internal foundation and hence it was "told to him" or "shown to him" in dream or vision, waking or sleeping. The creature was more or less an automaton, the playground of external forces. The character of these spirits was largely determined by the extent of good or evil resulting to or promised to the recipient. How far can we go in postulating a world of such spirits? Is it a matter of numbers or of principle?

Shall we reduce the possibilities to two, one supremely good and one superbly evil, or can we better interpret human experience in terms of one benevolent spirit? If so, the devil is no more. Indeed, this would seem to be a facile means of ridding the world of so much evil, but the two are not synonymous. We may indeed annihilate the devil as a theological concept, but we may not close our eyes to the ills about us. If we were less loath to assume responsibility for our own wicked thoughts and deeds, we should have no need for any other devil than the self. Is the devil anything more

than a mental concept, the personification, the deification of evil? And yet, if we should compare the objectivity of the devil, as found in much of current religious thought, he would be no less an external being than the objective devil who tempted Jesus. He is the reputed source of all evil, the shield for our weakness, the alibi for our perfidy, conceived and devised for our comfort. We may not escape the results of our evil-doing, but we can place the responsibility elsewhere.

Man is good and bad, selfish and altruistic, introspective and projective. The world of evil spirits and the world of good spirits or angels is probably composed of multitudes of human projections, i. e., objectifications of consciousness, so to speak. They appear to belong preeminently to the external world and only temporarily to exert influences on the internal. Their reality is never doubted because the test of experience is beyond question. They are not perceived by the senses, because they already lie within the portals tended by the sensory organs. They often rise unbidden into consciousness when eyegate and eargate are closed, when no perceptible influence from the external world could be suspected of contributing to their genesis. Exorcism was not altogether a vain method of eliminating many of them. In many instances, doubtless, when the idea was gone, the demons also disappeared.

It is therefore quite conceivable that the temptation experience could hardly have been described in other than objective terms, since any suspicion that the "devil" or "tempter" was an inseparable portion of the person of Jesus would have cast reflection on his divinity at that time. There was probably no choice in the manner of making the report. It was couched in the only terminology available at the time. But it is also true that the value of the experience is not changed or depreciated by a subjective reading. In fact, for us, such procedure enhances the value of it.

We have already noted that God himself is strangely absent from the entire event. It was the Spirit. What mental state or phase of consciousness did Jesus or his observers interpret in this term, Spirit? To spell the word with a capital letter adds not one iota to the conscious value of the affective state. When we pronounce the word, it is reduced to auditory vibrations and betrays no hint of its orthography. It was neither a printed word, nor the exhortations of friends that impelled him to seek the wilderness for meditation, after his baptism. It was most probably an internal pressure, arising from the demand for adjustment in the psychological tensions. All of his past experience had to be reckoned with, plus the new ideational factors of the present moment, and the prospective possibilities of the future. His subsequent life now indicates that he faced a radical breach with his past, as to his theological concepts, as well as a departure from his accustomed mode of living. The local carpenter was about to become the wandering evangelist, the son of Joseph was about to become the Son of God. What would constitute the burden of his message and the goal of his endeavor? By what means could he hope to win the hearts of his fellow countrymen? It may have been the imperative demand for a solution of these problems that led him into the quiet places for reflection.

Need one postulate more than this as a motive for Jesus to seek seclusion? If the story is simply related to demonstrate his superiority over a mythical devil, it loses both character and spiritual value. Moreover, why should mental concepts, which represented the Messianic expectations of the Jews of his age, be ascribed to the devil as an originator, for in the temptation incident we may see reflected several of the current ideas associated with Messianic hopes. When espoused by the throng, they were divinely given; when reflected in the consciousness of Jesus, they came as external suggestions from the devil.

As we review the problems for which we feel that Jesus was seeking solutions at this time, we must perforce see them through the long vista of the great life which was subsequent to them, all of which lends an exceedingly colorful note to our investigations. Perhaps it is only in this light that we are able to estimate the content of the temptation experience. It was not an isolated event but a critical moment in a marvelous career.

The solutions which he sought, however, were to be achieved with respect to God rather than to the self. We dare affirm this because the after-life speaks so much of God and so little of self. Had Jesus any other experience of God than that which we may define as ideational? Are we obliged gratuitously to postulate anything more than normal physiological capacities to account for his uniqueness? He was born of woman. Can we have anything but ideational experiences of our friends and loved ones? Harmonious sounds and palatable food alike make their presence known to us through sensory impressions, which we summarize as perceptions and translate into concepts or ideas. By the same token, if we begin with the idea of a good dinner or a symphony concert, we know how to make the necessary adjustments to reproduce the stimuli that eventuate in the anticipated perceptions.

Wherever we find God, in whatever clime or time, he is much encumbered with anthropomorphic virtues. Perhaps this very fact prevents his absorption into a pantheistic abstraction. But if human conduct is to be governed by conscious volitional activity, regulated by reason and judgment, only so much of God is affectively available as can be apprehended by the human intellect. Even if we could assume a faculty, superior to normal rational processes at their highest efficiency, by means of which one could apprehend the divine, we should still be obliged to reduce the result to rational mental concepts before it could issue in conduct.

Hence the idea of God must ever serve us in lieu of whatever may exist of him in the transcendental realms beyond human perception. Perhaps, too, even his transcendentalism is only an anthropomorphic endowment. In other words, God is affectively relative for each one who apprehends him, conditioned with respect to that individual, by the idea of God which he possesses. We may endow him with infinity, but infinity is also a human concept, a limitation without limitations. We hold it as a concept yet we may not measure it except ideationally. In truth we do not measure it, we simply postulate it. Nevertheless, infinity is a useful and workable concept.

It was with respect to his evolving idea of God that Jesus sought to adjust his life problems. The magnitude that God achieved in the ideational world of Jesus was not due to any increase in God himself, but rather to developmental processes in the life of Jesus. From the days of his youth his ideational field with respect to God was continually augmented by education and religious practises. In later life he was able to continue the practise unaided, and so transcended the concepts of his time. Having reached the baptismal experience, he realized that he was at the parting of the ways. His conceptions would no longer fit into the *status quo*. As he gained confidence in the integrity of his position, the necessity for further steps became apparent. Perhaps at this moment we find him seeking the seclusion of the wilderness that he might scan the future and determine his course. The physical world of which he was a part still remains today, subject to the same laws. His conflict was in the ideational world of his day.

We have eliminated the devil from the event as a psychological supernumerary, though he will forever remain incorporated in the story. May we not also interpret the leadership of the Spirit as a personal effort to coordinate his life, with respect to his idea of God, without detracting from the

value or significance of the experience? For how shall we discriminate between the idea of God and the Spirit of God, in fact. If we assume that spiritual manifestations of God are susceptible to human perception, they must eventuate in conceptual ideas before they can appear in consciousness. It is again the question of external and internal, the Spirit representing a projection, and the idea representing an introspection.

If the reality of Spirit or idea of God is to be determined by the pragmatic test of experience, only one of these can be reduced to comprehensible components, which can function through a human organism as other ideational processes do. The Spirit is unavailable for human consumption until its abstract virtues can be comprehensively defined. How much of God lies beyond human comprehension, only God can know. For us he can only be affective in so far as our ideational processes are able to apprehend him.

There are three incidents or phases of the temptation mentioned in the Gospels. The first is, that Jesus should appease his hunger by turning stones into bread. We have previously noted that Mark omits all the details from his record of the temptation. Matthew and Luke supply them. As a detail in a crucial religious experience, this particular item seems almost irrelevant.

Indeed, what could be more natural than that one who was keeping a lengthy fast in a wilderness country, should reflect upon the probable source of food. If his eyes happened to be cast upon the ground for the moment, some connection between the hunger pangs and the stimulus from the stones could be associated readily. Furthermore, if the experience did come at the end of a forty-day fast, all the more likely the reduced bodily state would lend itself to psychological vagaries.

The more significant note, however, is that which raises the question of sonship in the mind of Jesus. "*If* thou art

the Son of God, command these stones to become bread." What would have happened if he had made the attempt, can only remain a matter of speculation. Perhaps we should have had no Christianity today. He might have failed and simultaneously destroyed his consciousness of sonship. He might have succeeded, then subsequent temptations would not have been necessary.

The objectivity of the tempter gives way before the subjective introspection of Jesus. He had received the assurance of divine sonship at his baptism, but his ideational concept of God has not yet been sufficiently elaborated to validate the new infusion. Oneness with God cannot be achieved in the twinkling of an eye. Granting the dawn of such a possibility at baptism, the concept must be integrated and coordinated with all that existed up to that moment. Some valid reasoning must substantiate the idea to consciousness before its final acceptance. By what means then can the truth of the concept be established? What evidence shall one present to himself in order to verify it?

If we accept the idea of hunger as being real and pressing, there is another alternative at hand. Jesus is not obliged to turn stones into bread. He can leave the wilderness, as he did soon after this experience, and find sustenance by other means. If he had been shut up to the absolute choice of either "bread from stones" or "no bread," his decision would have been of greater moment. Furthermore, he traveled from Judea to Galilee during these forty days, through a country that nourished many ascetics in his day. The actual hunger aspect of the situation hardly presents a crisis, certainly not one worthy of this eventful occasion.

On the other hand if Jesus were groping for assurance and some tangible means of attaining it, the suggestion that he make bread of stones becomes more significant. In proportion as it does, the conception of this temptation as an invitation to self-gratification loses its force. Neither does

it appear that he was refusing to use supernatural power for personal benefit. He was not aware as yet that he was supernaturally endowed, if he ever were. The question he was facing was, "*If* thou art the Son of God." Nor does there appear to be sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption that a Messianic consciousness came to him suddenly at baptism. Here we observe him, forty days later, still trying to fathom the problem of his sonship.

Any satisfactory solution must fall within the scope of Jesus' idea of God at that time, rather than within that wider range bounded by Messianic honors attributed to him later, but not assumed by him. That his idea of God varied from the current thought of his time, his whole life seems to indicate. He was a child of his age but he outgrew it, transcended it. A partial picture of the then current conception is found in Deuteronomy 8: 2, 3, from which Jesus lifts the strikingly significant quotation, "Man doth not live by bread alone." There is also a close parallel between the wilderness experience of Jesus and that of early Israel, as revealed in these verses, "And thou shalt remember all the way which Jehovah thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or not. And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that 'man doth not live by bread alone,' but by everything that proceedeth out of the mouth of Jehovah doth man live."

Jesus was also in the wilderness, was being tempted, proved, humbled; he hungered, and the purpose of the hunger, both for him and for ancient Israel, was to "make thee know that man doth not live by bread only." Bread, a benevolent providence, might satisfy the current expectations of his contemporaries, but Jesus must discover the content of that which was "not bread only." Not only physical sustenance,

but spiritual strength would satisfy the quest of his heart. The realm in which he should find peace of mind and verification of his sonship, was therefore much wider than that accepted by his fellow countrymen.

These accounts are written from a post-Messianic viewpoint, and lend themselves frequently to such interpretation. But up to this point there is insufficient evidence to warrant a full Messianic consciousness in Jesus. He was yet struggling with the preliminary stages of that concept, "Son of God." The temptation is always interpreted as a triumph. Jesus came out of this season of doubting, but all through the Synoptics, while he often calls himself, "Son of Man," he never glories in the self-assumed title, "Son of God." Did he fail to find the confirmation of sonship that he sought? We may never know, but even then, such confirmation as he did receive enabled him to achieve distinctive and unique sonship in later life.

I am inclined to think that his first problem was intensely personal. It was not Messianic, neither was it selfish. If he could turn stones into bread, would this be satisfactory evidence to himself, of his sonship? From the manner in which he studiously avoided the use of magic as a sign of divinity, in later life, we may assume that he easily rejected this test. He was unwilling to test the authenticity of his sonship by means that would not contribute to the fulfilling of his function as a son. The validity of his sonship was to be attested, not in the wilderness, but in the haunts of men, in actual application of life to life. Even if he should make bread of stones in solitude, the real test of his moral powers must be made in the world of his fellows. He may have left the wilderness, still somewhat in doubt, determined to find the confirmation in the external world of men rather than in the introspective world of thought. "Whom say ye that I am?" may have been another wrestling time of doubt; and the joyous confirmation of Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the

Son of the living God," may have recalled these lonely hours of struggle in the wilderness.

Again in Matthew 16: 20, "Then charged he the disciples that they should tell no man that he was the Christ." Did he not aspire to be the Son of God? Not by acclamation. He would still rest the validity of his sonship on the discernment of his fellows. If they could see the life of God in him, he would know it was valid. He would become the son by manifesting the virtues, rather than by propaganda. Thus we read this moment of the temptation experience in terms of the later life, though not in a strong Messianic light.

If God also provided something more than bread by which man should live, Jesus must do something more than make bread of stones, to establish his claims to sonship. Something must proceed from his mouth. What should he say to substantiate his claim? Jehovah could say, "I am that I am," and it would suffice, but Jesus knew that if he thus proclaimed his sonship, it would be rejected instantly. Did the way to confirmation lie through self-aggression, self-assertion, or through self-effacement and love?

If the self were minimized, what would remain? All that was not self, the residue, the sonship, for by its nature, that quality was imperishable. "If thou art the Son of God," the qualities that belonged to the Father belonged also to the son. Men should attest the validity of his sonship, not by vicarious observation, but within the realm of their own experience. Renunciation, self-sacrifice, the way of love, should be the other bread by which man must also live. "To do the will of him that sent me," was meat for his spiritual life. It was evidence of loyalty and oneness with the Father.

"*If* thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down," from the temple pinnacle. This was another suggestion that may have reflected the current magical conceptions of the day. If one could perform such a feat unharmed, the populace would certainly acclaim him as favored by God, or especially cared

for by God. If they had not seen the leap from the temple top, they might even believe that the descent had been from the skies. But if some of the neighbors from Galilee appeared later and identified him as the carpenter of Nazareth, the glory would soon be dispelled. He must so live that they shall see the Son in the carpenter. Moreover, such a leap, even if successful and sustained by a quotation from the Psalms, would not have established the validity of his sonship *to* Jesus. His idea of God demanded that God be recognized in the normal as well as in the unusual events of life. Sonship was not to be authenticated by a phantom flight from the temple pinnacle. One must also be able to recognize it in the persons of those who enter the city gates and walk upon its streets. If his aspirations were to be validated by his fellows, as well as by his Father, he must approach them intimately, by the way of service and love, rather than by flying at them from the clouds. The rejection of this plan, even if it had been feasible, may mark an advance in his growing confidence. He may still be wrestling with the problem of personal adjustments, of his own convictions, yet he is moving in such a plane as is possible for all men to follow. If magical feats and spectacular performances were to be the insignia of sonship, the world could soon produce many of the former without much of the latter. His sonship, for his own satisfaction, must be attested in another sphere than the material, and in another phase than the magical. Perhaps his contemporaries expected a wonder-working, bread-giving Messiah, descended from the clouds, but it is gratuitous to assume that even they would have accepted such a one. If they did, what then? "Man shall not live by bread only." The moral issues were still to be confronted.

I am not convinced by the evidence in the Synoptics that this temptation has an exclusive Messianic bearing, if indeed it has any. Perhaps we have done Jesus a gross injustice to force Messianic interpretations on many of his life

acts. If he ever had Messianic aspirations, in terms of the then Jewish conception, he studiously avoided making them manifest. Since he was able to set forth with such clearness and authority the things with which he was vitally concerned, may it not have been that the only Messianic significance he acquired was that which was conferred upon him by others? He may have realized, as we do today, that a Messiah, in the sense of Jewish expectations, was an utter improbability and a spiritual non-essential; more than that, an impossibility. If so, then Jesus would have little desire to appear as such. How often did he charge his followers that they should tell no man that he was the Messiah? He did have a strong conviction doubtless of what the Son of God should be and do, and he lived it. In this temptation he was seeking to fathom his own qualifications for that high office. "*If* thou art the Son of God," continually surges into his consciousness. What course of action would he follow as Son of God? Would it be magical, spectacular, or by aggressiveness and the will to power?

The reply that Jesus makes to the invitation to cast himself down from the pinnacle, "Thou shalt not make trial of the Lord thy God," is often interpreted, from a post-Messianic standpoint, as a personal attestation of his own divinity, and an authoritative protest against further questioning by the devil. Possibly he would have rejected this compliment as readily and sincerely as he rejected the devil's invitation.

Since we have found the persistent, "*If* thou art the Son of God," as a permanent part of Jesus' own psychological make-up, we must perforce find another solution. The devil, so to speak, has just assured him that if he did jump from the pinnacle, he would not be injured, because angels would come to his rescue. His reply would seem to indicate that he was unwilling to make such an experiment, not from fear of failure, but on purely moral grounds. The nature of God, as Jesus had come to know him, would be degraded by such

an affront. He was appropriating the spiritual injunction to himself, and not defending himself from a devil by means of it. One could not establish the authenticity of his sonship by flying in the face of God.

So far, the historical evidence furnishes but little of positive content. We know that he rejects the magical and spectacular, but what does he accept? A new angle of the same problem is about to present itself as the temptation continues. Whatever his conclusion may have been concerning the primary import of this experience, the world has long since approved his judgment, if that were necessary.

One readily dismisses the intricacies of the third element in the temptation, by recognizing the devil as master of the universe and accepting as valid his promise to turn all the kingdoms over to Jesus, if he would ally himself with the devil instead of with God. But only with extreme difficulty can one ally himself with zero. If the devil is a liar, the bargain is invalid from its inception. If he is non-existent, the whole proposition falls to the ground.

How did this pictorial problem take form in the mind of Jesus? Was it born of his own sense of weakness and obscurity? How could he accomplish anything without authority? He was neither prince nor priest. If the assurance of his sonship were happily confirmed, in what manner should he bear himself among men?

Was authority essential to true sonship, or could one be a son and still share the lot of the common people? Was the goal of sonship mastery over one's fellows or self-mastery? The former might be obtained politically, by evil means, but the latter could only be attained by the complete dissociation from all evil. True sonship could be achieved only in the moral sphere. "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

Did Jesus leave the temptation experience with the conviction that sonship was not the matter of a moment, a soli-

tary experience of God, but rather a life-long attempt at moral endeavor to incorporate the will of God into the deeds of human life? Just in proportion as he should be able to do this, would the consciousness of sonship evolve and become increasingly richer. He may have reached the conclusion that he could not determine his sonship, a priori, by magical and spectacular methods. It must be worked out in terms of life and deeds, a life of love and service in which the will of God would always be paramount to the self-will. Sonship was not to be arbitrarily conferred, even on Jesus. It must be achieved. One could only find his sonship by losing his self.

This temptation appears to represent the complete renunciation of authority and glory on the part of Jesus, such as might have belonged to the expected Messiah. The whole temptation experience, rather than representing the birth of Messianic possibilities in Jesus, seems to be the unreserved renunciation of them. But this change in our interpretation neither vitiates the experience nor detracts from the life. He came out of the experience determined to do the will of his Father, to validate daily his consciousness of sonship by a life of love. He insisted and taught that all men should do likewise. If we may cite John 1 : 12 without prejudice, we read, "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." We regard this as no vicarious benefit which he confers, but rather understand that he blazed a trail into the heart of God, which others may follow with corresponding results. Thus the transient Messianic kingdom among the Jews becomes for him the universal brotherhood of the children of God, among whom he stands as "the first-born among many sons."

He made no test of his sonship by aspiring to Messianic honors and the applause of the multitudes. He shunned the multitudes, except to serve them. He dared the bolder course, the unobtrusive method. He was the leaven hid in the mass. If it became light, his sonship was beyond question.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Disciple's Commentary on the New Testament. David Smith, D. D. In five volumes: Volumes IV and V. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc. 1932. $7.00.

The first three volumes of this work were published in 1928. They were issued in London by Hodder and Stoughton with the title *The Disciple's Commentary on the Gospels,* and were published in New York by Doubleday, Doran & Co. with the title *Commentary on the Four Gospels.* These items are necessary for understanding the publication forms of the work as a whole; and one must add that the handling of all these volumes in the United States has now been assumed by Harper and Brothers.

For those who are acquainted with the three volumes of this work of Doctor Smith on the Gospels there is little need to comment on the two volumes now at hand, completing the plans of Professor Smith, Volume IV covering Acts to Corinthians inclusive, and Volume V the remainder of the New Testament. As on the first three volumes, so on these two now before us, Doctor Smith has provided a popular and essentially homiletic treatment of the New Testament writers, the narrative consisting of the New Testament books divided into paragraphs, each paragraph being followed by the comments on these verses which offered themselves to Doctor Smith. Accordingly, while the real scholarship of Professor Smith is at the basis of these volumes, the popularity of the work, both in its language and the form of the pages, is its characteristic feature, and many who seek a new interpretation of the language of the New Testament from such points of view will find the work of profit.

Frank Grant Lewis.

Character in Human Relations. Hugh Hartshorne. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xiv, 367. $2.50.

Perhaps no man is better qualified to write on this theme. After years of research under the auspices of the Character Education Inquiry, Hartshorne has schooled himself in current processes and programs of character formation. In the first section of this book he describes the various types of agencies that are engaged in elevating the lot of American youth, and appraises their work. The appraisal is shrewd and far-reaching. He points with the skill of a specialist to what is constructive, what is faulty,

and what in community life is irrelevant in various school, civic and independent projects with which we are familiar. Of the score or more of programs that come under his critical judgment, probably none ranks as high in character possibilities as the 4-H Club work. Usually the principles governing these programs are praiseworthy. How difficult it is to articulate such ideals in social behavior that enriches experience, the author makes crystal clear. He enlists more faith in the validity of indirect character-forming educational procedures than in direct approaches to character education.

The relative value of "trait," "habit," "pattern," "factor" and "self" theories of character are reviewed in part two, followed by an exposition of "the functional theory of the nature and development of character" (the author's own view-point) in part three. In so far as preaching and church work generally tend to be patterned after the "trait" theory of inciting the good life, every minister should read chapter nine with a view to evaluating afresh the fitness of his skills. Hartshorne is at his best in the development of his own view-point. Into treating "the way individuals deal with their environment," he packs many of the most significant findings of the Character Education Inquiry. He does not treat the way the universe deals with individuals in as satisfactory a manner. The materials, pages 229-245, were not written for this manuscript. And this suggests the one disappointing feature in the entire study; the author has embodied here and there materials from formerly published articles which do not always harmonize completely with the view-point under immediate consideration.

Character is inherent *in* human relations, as the title of the book suggests; but supremely in human relations that have cosmic reference and value. The experience of religion may not be remote from that involved in sawing wood or planting a garden. The act of ethical import may be any act, when certain appreciations and meanings of a social nature emerge. Hartshorne would eliminate the hiatus between the secular and the sacred in popular thought by elevating all behavior to a rational, æsthetic and utilitarian plane. He illustrates how the public school may become a primary agent in stimulating this urgently-needed art of living.

The text is the most important treatment of character education which the reviewer has read. It will repay any parent or teacher abundantly for a careful examination.

STEWART G. COLE.

The Cure of Souls: A Socio-Psychological Approach. CHARLES T. HOLMAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1932. Pp. xv, 331. $2.50.

PROFESSOR HOLMAN has attempted a pioneering work and has done it well. He has brought the findings of psychology, social case work, psychiatry and therapeutic religion to bear upon the problems that annoy personality in our time and contribute to its arrest or defeat. "Souls" are sick today of many illnesses that baffle the religious leader. Pastoral physicians rather than priests are urgently needed. The author believes that only as the churchman understands somewhat soundly the sources of spiritual ill-health can he minister to his parish people advisedly.

In interpreting the motives of men, the author is partial to the "wish" schema of W. I. Thomas and the Chicago school of social psychology. Folks are sick because of frustrated wishes; frustrated by the stress and strain of our hectic age. So, also, claims the psychoanalyst; but he means something very different by the wish, and also by frustration. Professor Holman uses both view-points for his purpose without reconciling (if they can be reconciled) their positions.

On pages 148, 149 the reader will find an informative chart of the field of maladjustments of personality, symptoms, contributing causes and therapeutic treatment, as the author conceives them. It is the key to an interpretation of a large section of his text. He recognizes two general types of sickness, due on the one hand to social, and on the other to cosmic maladjustments. Resulting from the former, the individual falls a victim to a variety of self-defeating habits of life. It is in the latter adjustment that religion is centered. Religion deals with the imponderables in experience and brings them to the judgment of the cosmos for their true value. God is the Agent of justice, love and redemption in the natural universe. Man's effort to come to terms with the spiritual meaning of the world is often exceedingly faulty, resulting in religious arrests or perversion.

The author's years invested in the pastoral office, his high regard for the function of religion and his extensive readings in psychology, make the book one of unusual merit. Besides, the reader will find that Professor Holman has made suggestive use of many New Testament passages of Scripture in illustrating his claims. There is another side of the story of sick souls, to which the book barely refers: that is, the sick society of our time. Persons whose lives are disordered are chiefly so because they are victims of a chaotic civilization. The author, who is professor of pastoral duties in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, has provided a timely introduction to the subjective phase of this all-embracing upset of our social order.

STEWART G. COLE.

A Treasure-House of the Living Religions. Robert Ernest Hume. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xviii, 493. $3.00.

Professor Hume has given us a new type of source-book in the history of religions. He has gathered and arranged in the present volume no less than 3,074 selections from 134 sacred scriptures of the eleven major faiths living today. The religions whose scriptures are represented include Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, Confucianism, Taoism and Shintuism.

The arrangement of selections is topical, one group dealing with "Faith in the Perfect God"; a second with "Man and His Perfecting"; and a third with "Man and His Social Relations." A fourth group of selections is in the form of a program of joint worship, arranged as a responsive reading. With such an obviously selective method, a vast amount of material has been sifted, requiring prodigious labor.

Professor Hume has confined himself to the historic religions that are extant; not that the religions of Egypt, Greece, Rome and Babylonia have not made notable contributions to the world's religious literature, but simply because they are not represented by worshipers today. Within the literature of the living religions the author has deliberately selected moral and spiritual gems, and rejected the chaff. He has been interested to note how amazingly similar are the longings and outreaches of mankind. The various versions of The Golden Rule which are assembled make an excellent illustration of the community of aspiration in the great religions. The different faiths have much to say in common about the life of the spirit, deliverance from evils, and God. A study of *The Treasure-House* will impress this fact more deeply than ever. Bearing in mind the method of selection employed, the student of religion will find this volume invaluable as a scientific source-book. The work is carefully and exhaustively documented, the notes alone occupying one-fifth of the book.

A. S. Woodburne.

The Ground of Faith and the Chaos of Thought. Oliver Chase Quick, Canon of Saint Paul's, London. London: Nisbet and Company, Ltd. 1931. Distributed by Harper and Brothers, New York. Pp. 152. $1.50.

The four chapters of this little book comprise four lectures delivered by the author in Sion College, March, 1931. Canon Quick sets himself the task of examining the bearing of some tendencies in current scientific and philosophical thinking on Christian theology, keeping uppermost an apologetic intention. He is committed to a philosophy of religion that is concerned to vindicate Christian experience in an atmosphere of bewilder-

ment and despair. To assume an attitude of easy tolerance and *laissez faire* is too superficial. To reject the modern spirit flatly is to purchase assurance too cheaply. We must seek for a unification of human thought and life, recognizing the contributions of art, science and religion toward a common goal.

The most arresting contribution is found in the third chapter, which deals with modern ideas of God. Here we have an illuminating discussion of recent tendencies grouped into three classes. There are the cosmological approaches of scientists like Whitehead, Jeans and Eddington; then the philosophical approaches from the view-point of human ideals of value—with which the author deals too scantily. The third group is theological, and approaches the problem of theism from the specific character of religious experience. Under this class he discusses Rudolph Otto and Karl Barth, giving disproportionately greater attention to Barth. He is not convincing in his attempt to classify Barth as an empiricist, for Barth's God is utterly transcendent. It would be fairer to say that Barth approaches religious experience through God than the reverse.

A. S. Woodburne.

The Other Spanish Christ. John A. Mackay. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xv, 288. $2.00.

In *The Other Spanish Christ* Doctor Mackay has given us a glimpse into religious aspects of South American history, especially with reference to their Spanish heritage. Doctor Mackay was for a number of years a professor in the University of Lima, Peru, and later in charge of the work of the Y. M. C. A. in Mexico. There is probably no man living better able to interpret the spiritual life of Latin America to the English-speaking world than Doctor Mackay. The present volume is done in a masterly way, and holds the interest of the reader throughout, while it depicts the spiritual currents of Christian life in South America with profound insight.

The picture of South America's debt to Spain is a picture of lights and shades. Spain gave Christ to South America, but as Doctor Mackay puts it, it was not always the Christ that is Jesus. One of their own great souls, Las Casas, put it "I have bought Christ, and they did not give him to me for nothing! I had to pay for him!" Jesus Christ has had a religious or cathartic value for South American worshipers. The contemplation of him has provided them with an emotional safety valve, but they have not regarded him as ethically significant. The author describes the Christ of South America as the one who was born in Tangiers, the Christ of popular religious tradition in Spain. This was the dead Christ,

as Unamuno described him, the "corpse Christ," a Christ who has never lived in the hearts of people giving them hope and life; but one who reminds them constantly of the earth.

Doctor Mackay follows Unamuno in placing ethics and religion on a tragic basis. Unamuno describes religion as throwing down the gauntlet to the universe. To live adventurously in the search for eternal moral values is the soul of religion, but it nevertheless includes suffering. It includes bearing a cross.

The present volume is divided into three parts. The first deals with Iberia and the Catholic epic in South America, the second with the philosophy of Spanish Christianity, and the third with new spiritual currents in South America. In the third section particularly, the author gives us brief sketches of many of the leaders of vital Christian thought in South America. It would be impossible even to catalogue the names of those whose life and work have been reviewed by Doctor Mackay. One of the significant features is that men in front-line literary ability are now turning their attention to Jesus. One of these men, Ricardo Rojas, wrote a book that was translated into English and published in 1931, under the title *Invisible Christ*. In that work Rojas suggests that Christ remains invisible, but is active as he creates in the human life a fresh Bethlehem for his birth and a fresh Calvary for his crucifixion. The new movements in the spiritual life of South America are in the direction of discerning the significance of the Christ who is Jesus for life and thought. Doctor Mackay finds that an increasing number of thoughtful Latin Americans are interested in what Christ means for the moral and social aspects of our modern world.

This is a great book, one that will be widely read and will bring inspiration to many. It is the kind of book that makes one inclined to ask oneself the question, What Christ do I know—the Christ of stained-glass windows and beautiful statuary, or is he the Christ who lives and moves in the hearts of those who love most deeply?

A. S. Woodburne.

Is There a God? A Conversation. Henry Nelson Wieman, Douglas Clyde Macintosh and Max Carl Otto. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company. 1932. Pp. 328. $2.50.

In an introduction, Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor *The Christian Century,* gives the origin of the "Conversation" and his share in guiding "in some vague fashion the development of the Conversation from week to week." No doubt many of the readers of The Crozer Quarterly listened to the conversationalists as they spoke in their designated cycles in the

columns of *The Christian Century,* and regretted that so much time had to elapse before it came the turn of each to converse. Too many distractions during the intervening weeks prevented catching the force of logic, the play of humor, the flash of wit, the shift of position. The publication of the "Conversation" in a single volume makes it possible for the reader to listen without interruption. He soon discovers that the "Conversation" is staged. Of course it is not the sort of conversation heard in the ordinary drawing-room, or in ordinary routine life, but in a university seminar. It is in reality a "seminar" discussion of a theme of perennial interest by three widely known teachers. Each is connected with a great university, and is contributing largely to the philosophic thinking of our youth. Through this volume many who are not privileged to enjoy participation in university two-hour discussion periods are admitted as auditors.

The debate, or rather, the conversation has been closed. The auditors disperse and in small groups discuss the net results. All agree in having enjoyed the privilege of meeting the three wrestlers, to use the figure of speech of the Editor, but will disagree as to whose shoulders touched the mat. The conversation ends, as most conversations do, and ought to do. The participants expect to meet again, and renew the wrestle, but under other conditions. And the auditors will wish to be present, for they have had a good time discussing the merits of each, and crave another opportunity.

At any rate, the book appeals to the known instinct for drama and tragedy. Most humans like to kill, because they themselves are alive. When they become skilled enough they kill what they call "a god" or "the God." One of the conversationalists quotes with approval the words, "Graves of dead gods mark all the highways of the world." Is it the grave of a "dead God" or a "dead idea-of-God"? No matter. There is death at any rate, and that is enough. It is the death of a god, too, or maybe only an idea of God. This is sufficient. Some readers of this volume will see graves of their "dead gods" in almost every "cycle," and some of them will enjoy the killing as though they themselves were in at the death. Bertrand Russell's words will find confirmation in this volume: "For the imaginative satisfaction of the ordinary, law-abiding citizen, a murder in a book will do almost as well as a real murder."

Is there anywhere a dramatic poet who could put these conversations into literary form analogous to the Book of Job? If so, what would the epilogue be, whether written by the original authors, or appended by a later writer? Would it not be, What is common to the three conversationalists? Whether it be the "god" of Eliphaz, or of Bildad, or Zophar. They

are all disturbed by the moral iniquities of our social order. They believe these disorders can be remedied. They agree that man is the author or agent of the amelioration. Professor Otto alone denies theism, but puts his faith in humanism. His closing sentence is: "Humanism, adopted as a way of life, gives substance to idealism, adds worth to labor, business, and the professions, brings dignity to the public service and opens for everyone a promising way of sanctity, richness, and joy in living." The other two could have written this sentence, with the exception of the first word. They would begin the sentence with the word, Theism. The personal theist, the a-personal theist, and the a-theist humanist have the analogue of Job's epilogue, viz.—substance to idealism, worth to labor, business and the professions, dignity to public service, and a way to sanctity, richness, and joy in living. Job of the twentieth century may well be comforted with such an outcome from the conversation, whatever logical and philosophical and æsthetic values the participants may have incidentally given.

MILTON G. EVANS.

The Idea of Progress in Philo Judæus. JESSE SCOTT BROUGHTON. [A Dissertation.] Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University. Distributed by The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, Pa. 1932. Pp. ix, 291. $1.50.

THE title of this volume is intriguing. Although Philo exercised amazingly little influence upon his Jewish contemporaries, he was, nevertheless, essentially a Jew. Accordingly, to expect to find an idea of progress in him was startling. Judaism as a revealed religion, and one which took itself seriously as such could hardly have been expected to have been kindly disposed to such a view. No Jew could understand the phrase "economy of revelation." God had revealed his complete will for man. This revelation was implicit rather than explicit, and was a constant mine of discovery. But the discoveries were solely that. Later Jews were finding out what God had earlier revealed. The eighth century prophets have advanced a long way from the primitive days. But did they realize it? Did they not consider they were calling the folk back to the emphases which God had at first desired? Whatever was, and was conspicuously sanctioned or blessed by God, must of necessity ever have been. The genius, accordingly, of Judaism was to read the present back into the past; not to discover a progress from the past to the present.

Nor can I find any evidence in this present volume calculated to challenge this fundamental principle of Judaism. It is in many ways an

admirable study of Philo, and reveals his activity in seeking to make Judaism intelligible and acceptable to the Greek world of philosophical thought; it provides an excellent study of Philo's mastery of allegorical interpretation; but far from substantiating the thesis that Philo believed in a progressive revelation or concerned himself with Israel's progress, the volume, so far as I can see, does not even raise the question. This is no criticism of the work, for such an attempt, in my judgment, would have been quite mistaken; the criticism is of the title.

That Philo is a singularly complex and obscure writer every student of Hellenistic Judaism is aware. Nevertheless, it does seem as if Doctor Broughton has made the task even more difficult than necessary. And the reason is close at hand. The volume is not a book, but a thesis. In all kindness it must be said the average doctorial dissertation is not suitable for publication. It is a stunt, evidencing the prospective doctor's ability to grapple with a subject and to evidence his knowledge. It is produced for a very select group of readers. Theoretically it contributes to the sum total of human knowledge. The insistence of many universities that such studies be published is silly and expensive. Not only does it force the candidate to assume heavy financial responsibility at a time when he is not usually in a position to do this; more than that, it prevents his turning his study into a valuable book. Could he rewrite it, bearing in mind his audience, not the professor who is to be convinced, many useful productions would be later rendered possible.

In this present volume precisely this difficulty is found. Doctor Broughton's obvious knowledge of Philo and his environ is such that this study could be turned into a highly rewarding and readable book. As it is, it is written thesis-style, with a technical vocabularly which sends one to the unabridged dictionary on the average of five times a page, and which causes the reader—at least it did me—constantly to turn to the end to see how many more pages were in store. That is a pity. It is too good a piece of work for that.

When this volume is rewritten—under a different title—and in the language of men, not angels, it should be provided with a table of contents in addition to the admirable index of Greek words which it now contains.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

Contemporary American Theology. Edited by VERGILIUS FERM. New York: Round Table Press, Inc. 1932. Pp. xx, 361. $3.00.

THIS is a volume worth editing and publishing, and, what is of more consequence, worth reading. One of its values is the motive for its

editing. The editor, Professor Ferm, of the College of Wooster, Ohio, had adopted the autobiographical approach to the study of theology, similar to that adopted by the editors of the well-known volumes on *Contemporary American Philosophy*. The success of his experiment with his students led him to open correspondence with many of our contemporary American theologians, asking their cooperation. He was fortunate in gaining their consent. The ones selected are not the choice of the editor alone. He "has been guided by expert counsel through a wide and lengthy exchange of opinion." This volume is evidence of resourcefulness in lecture-room method.

Another value is that the book gives authoritative history of contemporary religious thought. This is specially true of the first chapter, entitled, "Enter the Higher Criticism," by the recently deceased Benjamin Wisner Bacon. This chapter will be prized not only because it gives an accurate succinct history of historical theology during his lifetime, but also his own contribution to this science. Without question he has won preeminent place in the history of American scholarship, and it is most fortunate that Professor Ferm had secured the manuscript as one of the last of a long list of Professor Bacon's published writings.

Some of the other contributors give equally valuable insight in other phases of theological inquiry, but not at so great length, except Douglas Clyde Macintosh.

Another value is that each of the contributors gives his own intellectual and spiritual pilgrimage from youth to the time of writing. This autobiographical character not only compels naming of events and persons that affected thought and action, but, what is of greater significance, how events and persons occasioned reflection and reorientation. They tell their story so simply and so objectively that the reader feels as if he were listening rather than reading. The whole volume is a good illustration in written form of the possibility of meetings for "confession" and "sharing," when something more is desired than an emotional outlet.

The contributors are: Benjamin Wisner Bacon, "Enter Higher Criticism"; Edgar Sheffield Brightman, "Religion as Truth"; John Wright Buckham, "From Philosophy to Theology"; Shirley Jackson Case, "Education in Liberalism"; Winfred Ernest Garrison, "Transcendental Pluralism"; Walter Marshall Horton, "Rough Sketch of a Half-Formed Mind"; Rufus M. Jones, "Why I Enrol with the Mystics"; Albert Cornelius Knudson, "A Personalistic Approach to Theology"; J. Gresham Machen, "Christianity in Conflict"; Douglas Clyde Macintosh, "Toward a New Untraditional Orthodoxy"; Ernest Findlay Scott, "The Wanderings of a New Testament Scholar"; Henry Nelson Wieman,

"Theocentric Religion." At the end of each chapter is a list of the principal publications of the autobiographers. The names and publications attest the judgment of the editor, "The men who in this work unfold their intellectual and religious development belong to the company of recognized leadership."

This volume will be followed by another containing the autobiographies of other representative theologians.

MILTON G. EVANS.

The Career and Significance of Jesus. WALTER BELL DENNEY. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1933. Pp. 446.

THIS volume has been prepared by a teacher for use in schools and colleges, and aims to have the student realize the historical and religious problems raised by the New Testament accounts of the life of Jesus, and learn to make "a clear distinction between questions of historic fact and questions of religious value."

The first twenty-five chapters cover the career of Jesus. The general results of modern scholarship are accepted in considering the problems involved in the effort to discover "the actual mind" of Jesus. The Gospel of Mark and the so-called "Teaching Source" are used as the bases of the study. The writer dissents completely from the opinion held by the majority of New Testament scholars today that Jesus shared the apocalyptic views common in his time. He holds that "the central idea of Jesus was that he was the Son of God, not in an apocalyptic or even a Messianic sense, but in the deep religious sense that he knew God as his heavenly Father, and felt that the supreme end of life was to live in a manner worthy of such a Father."

The remaining eleven chapters present the significance of Jesus for religion. His permanent contribution is said to be that "he has introduced into human history both an ideal example and the most powerful of all spiritual energies, for the realization of God's universal Fatherhood, and man's universal sonship and brotherhood."

The work is well arranged for the convenience of students. Each chapter begins with an outline for Bible study, which is the real foundation for the material in the text. Questions for discussion, bibliographies, and maps add to the usefulness of the book. Those who are interested in the religious education of young people cannot afford to overlook this volume. In addition to its other values as a text-book, it presents Jesus and his teaching in such a way as to make a definite spiritual impression.

RITTENHOUSE NEISSER.

The Mysore Tribes and Castes. (Volume IV.) H. V. NANJUNDAYYA and L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER. Mysore: The Mysore University. 1931. Pp. xi, 677. 20 s.

MR. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER is to be congratulated on the completion of the strictly anthropological volumes on the Mysore Tribes and Castes. We now await the historical interpretation for the completion of this valuable work. The fourth volume which is before us contains a number of exceedingly interesting and valuable studies. We can only mention three or four as examples.

The articles dealing with the Lingayats and the Musalmans are of interest, in that they are concerned neither with tribes nor castes in the strict sense of the words, but with religious sects. The Lingayats are a Saivite sect, so named because the members wear as a symbol of their order the linga, the phallic emblem of the God Siva. The Lingayats are a religious community consisting of members of different castes, who are held together by the bond of their common faith. The author, of course, is dealing principally with the folk-lore and social customs of these groups, rather than with their religious beliefs in detail. It is of value to have such an article as the one dealing with the Musalmans, since most of our information concerning Indian Muhammedans is concerned only with their religious beliefs and practises, and there is little available concerning their social customs.

There is a most interesting article dealing with the Madigas. The Madigas are the largest sect of the untouchables, and, generally speaking, are the leather-workers. They have many customs and beliefs of a primitive animistic character. They are peculiar to themselves, probably due to the Dravidian element in their early culture.

Another interesting article is concerned with the Sanyasi. The Sanyasi is a religious mendicant, but in many cases he lives an ascetic life. There is, however, a group in Mysore and other parts of South India, the members of whom marry and raise families, although they live a wandering life.

A. S. WOODBURNE.

An Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures. SOLOMON ZEITLIN. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America. 1932. Pp. vii, 38. 60 cents.

MUCH important material has been gathered together in this brochure of 38 pages, by Professor Zeitlin of Dropsie College. On all questions of the canon of scripture, the author naturally turns to the writings of the rabbis. When he says that the church fathers, though interested in the

sacred scriptures of the Old Testament were outsiders, he is correct. The Old Testament canon was virtually accepted from the hands of the rabbis, who were responsible for the preservation and the segregation of these scriptures, and to them we must go for the reasons for their various decisions.

Some of Doctor Zeitlin's conclusions mark a departure from the generally accepted theory. Noteworthy is his judgment concerning the status of Ezekiel. From all the evidence gathered from the Tannaim—the Jewish expounders of the law—he concludes that the book of Ezekiel belonged to the earliest canon of the prophets, and that it was never withdrawn from the canon. He judges that the difficulties over the book arose because of its use in the public schools that had been organized in Palestine by Joshua ben Gamaliel, and that finally it was decided that it should be removed from such schools. Because of the difficulties of harmonizing certain parts of it with laws in the Pentateuch as well as the weird symbolism of the first chapter, it was clearly a book, not for children but for the mature and academic mind. Evidence however is adduced to show that even the much-discussed first chapter was used in public services in the early days. The reasoning on the basis of the evidence presented seems to be indisputable.

The general conclusions that are reached are noteworthy. Professor Zeitlin considers that the Pentateuch was canonized in the time of Ezra, when the Great Synagogue was at work. The prophetic books naturally belong to a second canon and were recognized as authoritative in the Hellenistic period, some time before 167 B. C., the Maccabean era. "The Writings" belong to the third and latest division of the scriptures. The author brings evidence to show that these books, excepting Ecclesiastes and Esther, were given their place of honor between the time of Ben Sirach, in the second century B. C. and that of Josephus. As for Ecclesiastes it was not admitted into the canon until A. D. 65, and Esther gained entrance some time later, after the Hardianic period.

The two chapters with which the book concludes, deal with the significance of "defiling the hands" and reasons for the exclusion of such books as Jubilees, Ben Sirach, Tobit, Judith, and other writings of intrinsic worth, from the canonical scriptures.

The study, an excellent one, is a contribution to scholarship.

I. G. Matthews.

Religion in Various Cultures. Horace L. Friess and Herbert W. Schneider. Department of Philosophy, Columbia University. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1932. Pp. 586. $4.00.

The authors have given in these pages a very readable description of certain of the world religions. No attempt has been made to deal with all the religions current today but distinctive choices have been made, viz., three primitive types and, among the higher forms, Shintoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Greek religion, Judaism and Christianity.

But the title of the book is misleading or the work itself disappointing. One expects to find religion revealed not only as a cultural value but also as a reflection, an expression of the peculiar culture of the various peoples studied. But instead a mere story of the religious beliefs and practises of the peoples is given.

No originality is shown in the discussion in the first chapter of "The Nature and Origin of Religion." In fact, the authors give no evidence of being acquainted with the present-day approach to the problem through the question, "What do men seek through their religion?"

Consequently religion is not considered in terms of man's relationship to his physical and social environment. In the treatment of Shintoism, for instance, the reader is not made aware of its genetic conception in the exquisite beauty and purity of those rugged islands of the Pacific. Nor in Christianity's origin, development and divisions is similar insight manifest. One single and minor illustration may be given. In the section on Adventistism not the slightest hint is given by the authors of their awareness of the suffering due to the panic of 1837 as a cause of its rise. On the contrary the prophecies of William Miller, the farmer of New York State, is linked with the "apocalyptic preaching of Hugh McNeile and Edward Irving" of old England, which is very difficult of proof. And if true, the reason for the acceptability of such preaching in this country still remains to be explained.

R. E. E. Harkness.

The Bible Looks You Over. Arthur Stevens Phelps. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1933. Pp. xiv, 229. $1.50.

This is a characteristic Phelps book. It is different. The title in itself is evidence of variation from the ordinary. The reader is not expected to find in these pages very much new information concerning the Bible; at the same time, the volume does call attention to many Bible statements which are usually unfamiliar even to Bible readers, statements which reveal the wealth of Bible language and the unused resources, in phrase if not in thought, which are still available for Bible readers.

The attractiveness of the book is due partly to the above qualities, partly to the inimitable style of Doctor Phelps, and partly, I ought to say largely, to the way in which, as the Bible looks at you, you have opportunity not so much to see the Bible as to see yourself. Thus you are brought freshly into contact with your personality, with your home and family life, with the every-day task which you face in its varied aspects, with the question of the meaning and significance of intellectual culture, with the possibility of being more neighborly and the methods of accomplishing this, with church life as it appears today, and with the good life of the spirit. Throughout the treatment of these suggestive topics there are many appropriate quotations from other sources than the Bible, quotations both prose and poetry, to which Doctor Phelps has added some poetic phrasing of his own. Altogether the book is a volume to be read both for enjoyment and for its practical suggestions.

FRANK GRANT LEWIS.

The New Handbook of All Denominations. Edited by M. PHELAN. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press. 1933. Pp. 327. $1.50.

IN 1915 our author first published a *Handbook of All Denominations*. It has met a praiseworthy demand, and hence has passed through seven editions. The present edition is very considerably enlarged, and generally of more value than previous editions.

The section on "Baptists" is fulsome—nearly 40 pages—and in the main correct. The editorial method of culling pages and paragraphs from various sources accounts for an unfortunate sectarian emphasis, and the unwitting failure to stress the most significant tenet of the Baptist people, namely, the competency of the human soul in all matters of religion. An innocent reader of this *Handbook* would come away with the erroneous idea that we were concerned chiefly about a certain rite, i. e., baptism. Whereas the fact is that competency was from the beginning and still is the basic and creative Baptist doctrine. Competent men are therefore free, hence our insistence on soul liberty, separation of church and state, freedom of speech and press, individual freedom in the interpretation of scripture, each one's liberty to make his own creed, the independence of the local church, opposition to infant baptism because the infant is unable to exercise soul competency and hence should not be thus imposed upon, the espousal of baptism by immersion both because it is an adequate check on infant baptism (infants would be rarely immersed) and because it is the exclusive New Testament mode, and the general conduct of all church affairs democratically. Competency, in the exercise of which men make Christ to be Lord of life, is the creative idea of Baptists.

W. R. MCNUTT.

The Hygiene of Marriage: A Detailed Consideration of Sex and Marriage. Millard S. Everett, Central Y. M. C. A. College, Chicago. Foreword by Clara M. Davis, M. D., Member of the Board of Directors, Illinois Birth Control League. Introduction by T. V. Smith, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago. New York: The Vanguard Press. 1932. Pp. xvii, 248. $2.50.

Much material is being written today concerning sex and the married state. But rarely do books attain the excellence that this text achieves. The frequent source materials quoted from physiological authorities, use of research projects, good taste in the treatment of delicate questions, and a fine moral challenge running throughout the volume attest to its superiority. The author does not father any particular school of sex. He is not a propagandist, unless one considers education a propaganda. His one purpose is to provide youth anticipating marriage and young parents a trustworthy guide to those problems which they must face sooner or later in their familial adjustment. And there is slight occasion for ignorance of vital matters with such a straightforward study of the theme as this book affords. The view-point of a hygienic science is available for lay people in lay language.

After a careful introduction to the anatomy of sex, the author considers mental problems incident to the marital state, and passes on to the subject of childbirth. Three chapters concern themselves with the need for birth control and birth control laws and clinics. The final chapter is entitled, " Scientific Versus Hearsay Methods of Contraception."

Stewart G. Cole.

Cultural Changes in the Church of the Brethren. Frederick Denton Dove, Ph. D., Professor of Psychology and Social Science, Bridgewater College. Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House. 1932. Pp. 256.

In this study Doctor Dove has given us not only a clear understanding of the social factors giving rise to the particular religious beliefs and organizations of his own denomination but he has shown students the proper approach to the study of any religious body.

In his first chapter the author defines culture as " the way people live " or " the mode of life " of a people. Quoting E. B. Tylor, he makes his definition cover " the whole range of social behavior."

Religion then, as defined in the second chapter, is the way in which men seek an answer to their highest and most profound needs. It is their behavior in search for an understanding of their experiences in all the relationships of life. Consequently the religion of any people can be adequately studied only in the light of their total physical environment and social heritages and contacts.

Doctor Dove thus proceeds to give his readers an historical sketch of the Church of the Brethren, setting forth in brief chapters their "Social Origins," "Growth and Spatial Distribution" and "Cultural Conflicts." And on the basis of these he discovers the culture patterns of the Brethren as revealed in their "Organization and Government," their "Publications," "Doctrinal Modes and Practices," "Education," "Ministry" and "Family."

Beginning with their cradle in Germany we find these people of the Thirty Years War born of suffering and as severe persecutions as ever Christians bore. Emigrating to America in 1719, they are compelled to create a home for themselves in the wilderness of Philadelphia. Thus are they driven in upon themselves and forced by communistic efforts and strict obedience to the commands of God to conquer the hostile elements about them and win that way and order of life which is commensurate with the dignity and worth of a human being. It is on that background of privation, destitution, meagerness, suffering of body and soul, we must see this religious group if we wish to understand them. As the ways of this world for them were hard, frugal and simple, so were the ways of God.

Doctrines, organizations and institutions are rooted in this. Experiences came first, then theories, opinions, doctrines and forms. And all the changes in their system which had to be wrought out with controversy and charges of heresy were due to the changed conditions under which certain members of this group had to live as prosperity came to them or more friendly, kindly environment was met with due to their migration into other sections of the continent.

Doctor Dove reveals not only a wide knowledge in the field of sociology but also an independent and original mind. He uses his materials in an interesting manner and with ease.

His complete bibliographical file furnishes a list of valuable source material pertaining to the history of the Brethren and also standard works in social studies.

R. E. E. Harkness.

Out of My Life and Thought. Albert Schweitzer. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1933. Pp. 288. $2.50.

Among modern missionaries none have so captured the imagination and claimed the sustained admiration of the Christian world as have Grenfell of Labrador and Schweitzer of equatorial Africa. Hence this volume is an autobiography of one of the most arresting disciples of Christ in our day.

At the early age of thirty this Alsatian was four times a doctor,—Ph. D., Th. D., Mus. D., and M. D.—had won a world-wide reputation as a New Testament scholar, and since has come to be recognized as our greatest living authority on Bach and the most brilliant interpreter of his music on the organ.

In his biblical studies the author had become so profoundly enamored of Christ and his manner of life, he felt it incumbent upon himself also to seek life by losing it. As a result he offered himself to the Paris Missionary Society, without cost to that agency, answering its call for a physician willing to go to torrid Africa. Though some doubted the soundness of his theological views, he was nevertheless commissioned to go as a medical man to the benighted of Lambarene; he and his young wife set out for "the edge of the primeval forest" in February, 1913. The ten years before and the twenty following this venture constitute a human interest story than which modern times have produced none more arresting.

In his Christology, Schweitzer is most liberal. In his book, *The Quest for the Historical Jesus,* his studies brought him to the conviction that Jesus was the child of his own age, a thorough-going product of the then current apocalypticism. Into that frame the young prophet of Galilee set his public ministry. Only on such an assumption could the facts of his life find coherent meaning and explanation. But—and this is significant—into that life-frame he injected the dominant idea of a love-motivated life reaching out to God on the one hand and to men on the other. The author says that he had followed this quest for truth, sustained by the conviction that where truth leads the honest man must follow, and that he ought to follow without fear since truth can lead only to the good end.

An observation is at hand, a Q. E. D. so to speak, namely, that the open mind and the liberal conviction do not mar the Christian life nor cut the nerve of Christian missions. At least in the case of this great missionary of our day we see one who does not consider himself bound by generally accepted opinion about the Christ he serves. And this is no isolated case; whenever and wherever men and women fall in love with him they become aware of a passion which makes them impatient of the meticulous codifurs of opinions about him. Anyway, who is able to codify a great affection?

What a tonic these pages! They enable one to walk with the growing and arriving scholar, to fellowship with a great musician, to sit humbly at the feet of a great Christian (though he would resent the thought) and to labor with a great humanitarian who having loved God loves also his

fellow men. We would that each minister would read this autobiography until he catches Schweitzer's joy in hard work, his devotion to truth, his downright mental honesty and his passion to follow Christ in service rather than in mere talk.

WILLIAM R. MCNUTT.

My Neighbor Jesus: In the Light of His Own Language, People, and Time. GEORGE M. LAMSA. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1932. Pp. xviii, 148. $1.50.

THE author of this book is an Assyrian whose language he claims, but mistakenly, to be the same as that spoken by Jesus, Aramaic. This acquaintance with language and local customs, which he argues have changed little in the lapse of years, affords him " surely certain qualifications to interpret these holy writings in their original setting." Perhaps it does. Occasionally his interpretation of a phrase is apt. On the whole, however, while the book is both readable and undoubtedly honest and sincere, it casts extraordinarily little light on the Gospel pages. There is a certain cocksureness which so often characterizes Easterners who seek to interpret their own possessions. His obvious lack of any real historical knowledge of the times under discussion, to say nothing of his apparent total ignorance of the literary and critical problems underlying these words of Jesus which he would comment upon, robs the book of any value which it might otherwise possess. His claims about Aramaic being the language of the sojourners in Egypt, of their descendants after the occupation of Canaan under Joshua, and that this " continuity of language with inevitable variations extended to the days of Jesus " are sufficient to make one skeptical as to his ability as a guide.

Nor is the fact that he and his people use the Peshitta version of any particular significance. The statement by Mr. Lanier, the writer of the preface is quite misleading. His words, " Their Gospel text dates from the second century, nearly two hundred years closer to the event than the Greek MSS. on which our version is based, and free from that translation into a foreign idiom which proverbially destroys the integrity of the written word," are absurd. The Peshitta is not Aramaic but Syriac, was a translation made from the Greek, and was not made until the fifth century. In fact, it was a revision of the older Syriac text—which latter was also a translation from the Greek—sponsored by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, and made on the basis of Greek manuscripts.

MORTON S. ENSLIN.

BOOK NOTICES

The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity: On the Errors of the Trinity and Dialogues on the Trinity. MICHAEL SERVETUS, alias REVES, a Spaniard of Aragon. Now first translated into English by EARL MORSE WILBUR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Issued as an extra number of the *Harvard Theological Review*. 1932. Pp. xxxviii, 264.

THE historian has made available for him in English these important Reformation documents bearing on the doctrine of the Trinity. The translator has included a brief biography of the Reformer and an extended bibliography of Servetiana.

Screen and Projector in Christian Education. H. PAUL JANES. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1932. Pp. 160. $1.00.

PROTESTANTS have been slow in recognizing the value of visual education for purposes of religious enrichment. They reacted so militantly from image and symbol of the Roman Catholic faith that they lost one of the most significant means of Christian edification. This author illustrates in photograph, chart and subject-matter what dynamic values grow out of a fit use of screen and projector. Not only does he consider technical questions in reference to stereopticon slides, motion films and their accompanying machines, but he shows how these visual aids contribute to heightening the appreciation of music, worship and instructional experience. Sample programs are listed as well as the names of houses where source material can be purchased.

The Question of the Cross. EDW. L. KELLER. Nashville: The Cokesbury Press. 1933. Pp. 136. $1.00.

A VOLUME composed of ten messages on the Cross. These begin with "The Magnetism on the Cross," pass on through "The Substitute on the Cross," to "The Verdict of the Cross." The first-named might better have been "The Magic of the Cross," while the other two reveal a treatment from a certain theological standpoint which views the cross not as a moral achievement, but as a non-moral transaction.

Word Pictures in the New Testament. Vol. VI. The General Epistles: The Revelation of John. ARCHIBALD THOMAS ROBERTSON. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xiii, 488. $3.50.

THIS completes a series covering the entire New Testament, the earlier volumes of which have been noticed as they were published. This one is of a piece with those which preceded it. The novice in the study of Greek is likely to find the text somewhat difficult to follow; the advanced student may weary of the repeated descriptions of familiar forms and constructions; those with just a fair knowledge of the language should find it interesting and valuable. The marked conservatism of the author is evident throughout.

Of Things Which Soon Must Come to Pass. PHILIP MAURO. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. xxviii, 623. $3.00.

THIS volume, as the subtitle indicates, is intended as a commentary on the book of Revelation (an enlarged edition to the Patmos visions). There is an elaborate attempt to explain the symbolism of the book, and to give it special reference for our time. The concluding chapter deals with the millennium, and we are informed that in the interpretation offered Pre-, Post-, and A-Millennialism are reconciled.

God and the Cosmos: A Critical Analysis of Atheism. THEODORE GRAEBNER, D. D., Professor of Philosophy in Concordia Theological Seminary, Saint Louis, Mo. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. xviii, 352. $3.00.

THIS book is an apologetic for the traditional Protestant theology—a defense of theism against many types of belief that the author groups together under the label of "atheism," of the belief in soul as against materialism, and of the creationistic hypothesis as against evolutionism. The materials are poorly organized, and there is a sorry lack of discrimination in the use of quotations from quite disparate sources.

A Manual of Church History. (Vol II. Revised and Enlarged.) ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN. Philadelphia: The Judson Press. 1932. Pp. 794. $2.00.

FOR many years Doctor Newman's *Manual of Church History* in two volumes has been one of the standard works in its field. The present volume has but slight revision of the former edition published in 1903. It does, however, bring the history down to this present year, beginning with 1517.

A Pilgrimage to Palestine. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.00.

THE original edition of this was reviewed in THE CROZER QUARTERLY, April, 1928.

Perspectives. CHARLES W. GILKEY, Dean of Chapel, University of Chicago. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xi, 118. $1.00.

THE present volume in Messrs. Harper's one-dollar series of sermons is a collection of superb utterances by one of America's most thoughtful and convincing preachers. There is one thing in which Dean Gilkey excels, and that is the use of the analogy for homiletic purposes. He is able to carry an analogy clean through the sermon, developing it with an amazing wealth of imagery and spiritual insight.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Buddha and the Christ. BURNETT HILLMAN STREETER. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiii, 336. $2.00.

Christian Unity in Practice and Prophecy. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xvi, 396. $2.75.

The Way. WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. 334. $2.25.

New Testament Times in Palestine. SHAILER MATHEWS. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xiv, 307. $2.00.

Moral Men and Immoral Society. RIENHOLD NIEBUHR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xxv, 284. $2.00.

The Resurrection of Jesus. SELBY VERNON MCCASLAND. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1933. Pp. 219. $2.00.

Richmond Hill Sermons. J. D. JONES. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. 285. $1.50.

You and Yourself. ALBERT GEORGE BUTZER. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. viii, 117. $1.00.

Religion and the Good Life. WILLIAM CLAYTON BOWER. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1933. Pp. 231. $2.00.

The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. CARL L. BECKER. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. vii, 168. $2.00.

A History of Christian Thought. Vol. II. The West from Tertullian to Erasmus. ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xii, 420. $3.00.

The Conversion of the Church. SAMUEL M. SHOEMAKER, Jr. New York: Revell Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. 125. $1.25.

Blundering Into Paradise. EDGAR DEWITT JONES. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1932. Pp. x, 126. $1.00.

Perspectives. CHARLES W. GILKEY. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1933. Pp. xi, 118. $1.00.

Moral Laws. EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1933. Pp. 322. $2.50.

A Philosophy of Religion. AMBROSIUS CZAKO. London: H. R. Allenson. 1933. Pp. xiii, 157. 5 s.